

14
Englands Triumph.

A MORE EXACT

HISTORY

OF HIS

Majesties Escape

After the Battle of

WORCESTER,

WITH

A Chronologicall Discourse of His

Straits and dangerous Adventures into

France, and His Removes from place

to place till His return into *England*, with

the most Remarkable Memorials since,

to this present SEPTEMBER,

1660.

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1660.





THE
P R E F A C E
BY WAY OF
A R G U M E N T.

NEver did any age (in this Nation most especially of all the rest of the Christian world,) afford more matter for a full and copious History than these 12. last years have done, wherein after a Myſterious war waged for and againſt the King, (if we look at what was pretended and what was acted,) the after game was playd by a party not the ſame with thoſe who at firſt undertook the buſineſſe; for the ſervants taking it out of the hands of thoſe that hir'd them and ſet them on work, and drawing it on to a far higher pitch of violence then was at firſt intended; brought their King (a moſt Noble and Pious Prince) to an untimely death, and

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utterly rejecting and proscribing all the Royall race, subverted the ancient government of the Nation, and chang'd it into a kind of a Free-State, as they call'd it, or Common-wealth, during which the most remarkable affair that happened was a war with the Dutch, and that carried on with no bad success; but not many years did this form of government hold; for Oliver Cromwell Generall of this new States army, having subdued the Scotch Nation, and by too unequall strength of arms forced the then heir apparent to the Crown, His Now gracious Majesty, (who came with arms, after all fair means used in vain, to assert his just claim,) to quit the Kingdom, violently usurped the supream authority into his own hands, which having kept with much adoe by a high hand for his own life time, he also us'd such means at his death, that he procured to have the chief Magistracy of the three Nations transferr'd to his Eldest Son Richard, which he held for a little while, till the Souldiery wanting other action to divert them, or an Oliver to keep them under, took an occasion to mutinie, and making use of Protector Richards authority to dissolve the Parliament he had called, lay'd him aside and invited in again the remnant of the long Parliament, which Oliver Cromwell had some years since dissolved to make way for his own advancement to the Supream Authority. The Common wealth interest thus restor'd, there seem'd now no other hopes, but a Free-State must seize us with-

out

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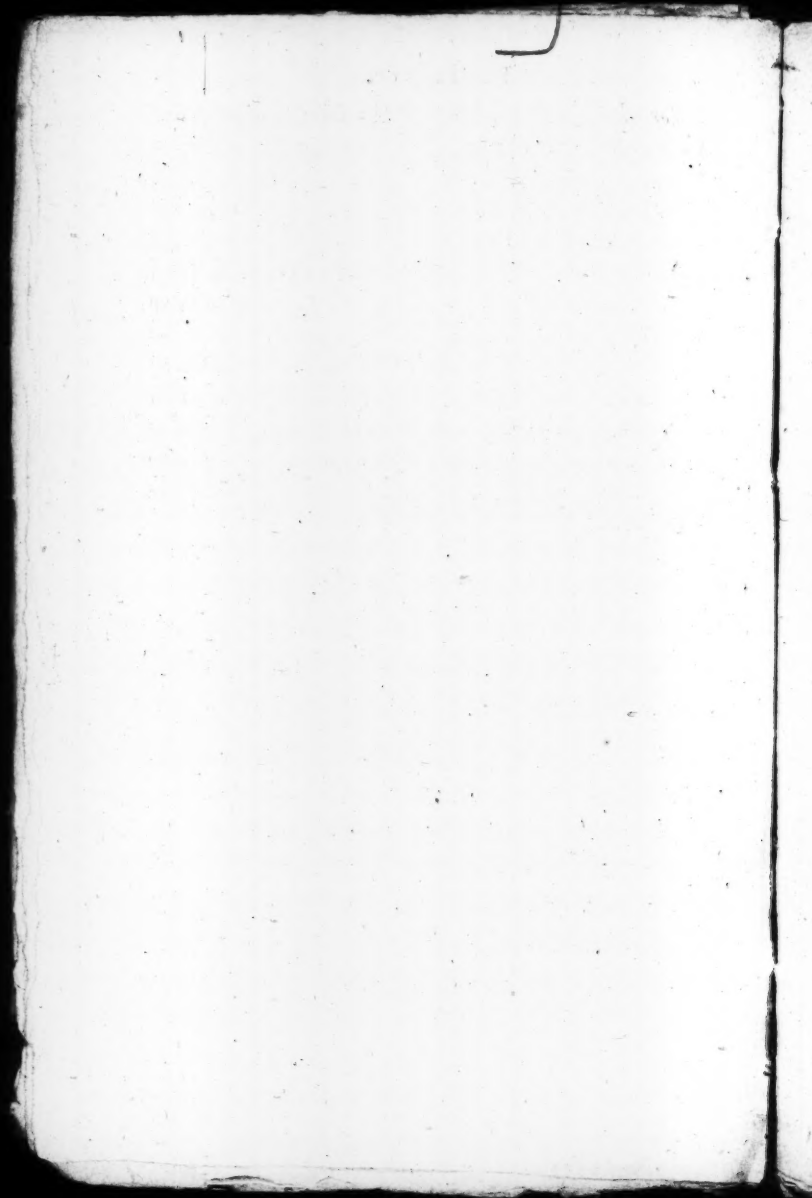
out any redresse; yet neither had this convention sate many months ere Lambert, spirited with his success against Sir George Booth, (who rose in Cheshire for a Free-Parliament,) and thinking to have traced Olivers steps, he took the same course with the Members at Westminster as he had done before, that is, he turn'd them out of doors; and while he March'd into the North against Generall Monck, who had declar'd against these proceedings, he left affaires to be manag'd by the Council of Officers at Wallingford-house, these sitting upon a Modell of Government, at length there was fram'd a thing called a Committee of Safety, which taking upon it the government of the Nation, brought in a great disorder and confusion upon the face of affairs, till by a strange turn of fortune, all the Army on a sudden deserting Lambert and his party, being inveigled thereunto by the policy of some of the late dissolved Members, way is made hereby to the admiration of all men, for the re-entry of our little Parliament, which growing still more and more odious to the people, came at length to be generally stiled in derision The Rump. Immediately after which Generall Monck hastens out of Scotland with his Army toward London, to make room for whose entrance the old Army is order'd to march out, and dispers'd into severall quarters, the City manifesting discontent, and disowning the present authority, Monck is commanded to pull down the City gates,
which

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which he unwillingly performs; but at the same time his commission being out, and commissioners appointed for the government of the Army, and Monck nominated the last, he closeth with the City, and after a while causeth the old Members who had been secluded by the Army in 1648. to be re-admitted to their seats in Parliament, yet limits them to sit onely for a short time, and to make preparations for the calling of a Free-Parliament; no sooner is this Parliament assembled, but they receive a Declaration from His present Majesty King Charles the second, which unanimously they own, publickly Proclaime Him King, and invite Him to a speedy return and exercise of His Royal trust. The King immediately comes over, is receiv'd with incredible joy, and brought in great glory and triumph to His Palace at Whitehall, and long may He there raign with peace and tranquility to the Nation: and thus you have a brief analysis of all the grand and remarkable revolutions of this Nation in this strange and capricious age, which are more at large though with brevity enough deliver'd in this present History: and although there are already made publick severall relations of the same nature, yet nevertheless we could not reasonably be discouraged from committing this History to the Press, in regard we have a just confidence to promise a more exact and punctuall account in all the most remarkable passages then is to be found in any of the rest, as namely

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ly for the manner of His Majesties escape from Worcester, his transactions during his abode in severall parts beyond the seas, his joyfull reception into England, and his magnificent entry into his famous City of London, with all the materiall passages that have happened since His Majesties restoration to his government. And furthermore our chiefeſt aime in this History is to lay a foundation for the continuing from time to time the relation of all materiall passages that shall happen in this Kingdome for the future; which of how generall a concernment it is, cannot but be apparent to those who diligently inquire into the advancement of the publick good.



I
ENGLAND'S TRIUMPH:

A MORE

EXACT HISTORY

OF

KING CHARLES the II.



AS to the writing the affaires of these late times, an Historian never met with more varietie of subjects, so for the right understanding and delivery of those events, he will find it a matter of much difficulty; such strange changes and mutabilities of State, of which no other Country can shew a parallel, nor *England* it self produce a president; A well ordered Monarchy turned into a confused Anarchy, Religion hewed down by the axe of Schisme, most horrid villanies acted under Religious pretences; Having not onely Priests (as in the time of *Jeroboam*,) but Princes also of the lowest of the people. *Wat Tylers, Jack a Leydons, and Knipperdollings*; as may appear by their usurping governments, which I shall endeavour to deliver unto you in the transactions of *England* from the death of King *Charles* the First, to the re-establishment of His Son King *Charles* the Second, wherein the Reader may see in the fall of the House of *Cromwells*, that Greatnesse built upon perjury is of short continuance, and that what ever aspiring *Phaetons* pretend, None but *Apollo* is able to guide the Chariot of the Sun.

B

Charles

Charles the First of Glorious Memory, being by a part of the Parliament (who had usurped to themselves the power of the whole or more :) sentenced to death by the mouth of that audacious Traytor *Bradshaw*, was the 30. of *January* 1648. in pursuance of their designs most execrably murdered before His Pallace at *White-Hall* by severing His head from His body. A Prince, whose vertues far exceeded any Eulogy we can bestow upon Him, His own pencill best portraies Him, the greatness of His worth being best expressed in the many miseries sustained by His losse.

But the end of their malice rested not here, it reached also to His posterity, whom by Proclamation they deprive of all Right in the Government of these three Kingdomes, and vote the Kingly Office quite down, contrary both to the Word of God, and the Fundamental Laws of the Nation: Yet though they cast a fair glosse on the matter, every ones Comment did not agree with their Text; and first *Ireland* (saving onely *Dublin* and *London Derry*) shew their dislike by revolt, for the Marquesse of *Ormond* and the Lord *Inchiquine* having made a peace with the *Quondam* Rebels, with a joynt consent Proclaime His Eldest Son King, by the name of *Charles* the second; solemnly inviting Him to come over to them being then in *France* with His Mother. But the King, though against the advice of His Mother, as plausibly as he might, waves this invitation; because he was unwilling to distaste His better friends in *England* and *Scotland*, by seeming to countenance those with His presence, whom they suppos'd he had already too much countenanced with His commission. And indeed it fell out much for the best, considering the sudden success of His friends there. For their numerous Army (amounting to no lesse then twenty two thousand men,) with which they were then beleaguering *Dublin*, either
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by the carelesness of the Commanders, or security of the Souldiers, was beat from before it by the besieged, and utterly routed by the third part of their number. Soon after *Cromwell* also arrived there with an Army, sent out of *England* to perfect their work of deformation, who soon made the Conquest compleat, putting many of the *Irish* to death, especially at *Tredagh*, where he continued Killing in cold blood for four days together, pretending they were Rebels, quite forgetting what himself and his matters were.

In the year 1649. a part of the Army falsely and undeservedly by *Cromwell* and his Faction called Levellers, make a defection from the rest; for they observing the exorbitant Counsels of *Cromwell* and his Council of State, were resolved not to be instruments of bringing the kingdom into further slavery, but rather to assert their own and the Nations liberty, and it is thought to joyn with the King whom they had fought against, rather then lose their enterprize. Whether such were their intentions or no I shall not debate, but sure it is that those differences did not make ill for the Royall party, who seeing the opportunity, were not idle; so that in a short time their designs were render'd so probable, that *His Majesty* was resolved to transport himself into *Fersey*, then in the safe hands of the Earl of *Yarmouth*, to attend the success. Whence if occasion serv'd he might with more ease waite himself into the West of *England*, which part it is said, that upon notice of the Southern disorders he was to have fallen. While *His Majesty* stayd in *Gersey* he summons *Guernsey*, but in vain, and because that seemed not to be misfortune enough, he received the news of the Levellers being utterly quell'd through the treachery of *Aeres* and *Reynolds*, (for which piece of service *Cromwell* was not ungratefull,) the forces of *Cromwell* falling upon them, while they were in treatie, suspecting nothing of

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then force of Armes. Upon this the King retired again into *France*, though he were the sooner forc'd to doe it, because he had certain intelligence that the Enemy was sending a fleet of ships to take from him that small remnant of His large dominions that yet remain'd unreduced.

But from *Scotland* far greater dangers threatned the Parliamentary Juncto, for though the *Scots* had sold their King before, yet feigning an abhorrency of the *English* proceedings, and that the world might take notice they were innocent of His murther, they likewise Proclaime Prince *Charles, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland*; and thereupon send Mr. *Windram* Laird of *Libberton*, to treat with His Majesty about sundry articles before His reception to the Crown; who having received his dispatches, hafts unto Him, being then in the *Isle of Jersey*.

The summe of their desires was to this effect.

1. That His Majesty would graciously be pleased himself to signe the *Solemne League and Covenant*, and that he would passe an Act in Part that every person in that kingdom might take it.

2. That He would passe divers Acts of the Parliament of *Scotland*, which was concluded on the two last Sessions,

1. For approving of their disclaiming *Duke Hamiltons* last return for receiving severall Acts made by the *English* for the *Militia*. 2. That the Kings of *Scotland* may have no Negative voice.

3. That His Majesty would recall the late Commissions given to *Montrossie*.

4. That He would put away all *Papists* from about Him.

5. That He would appoint some place about *Holland* to treat with their Commissioners. An Honorable company of the most noble Lords in *Scotland*, being to be appointed

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to attend His Majesty, to whom likewise they send a sufficient provision to maintain Him, a traine suitable to His birth and deserved greatnesse.

6. That He would be graciously pleased to give a speedy answer to their desires.

By these propositions the Reader may perceive, that notwithstanding their pretensions, they intended Him a King onely conditionally: and indeed those bitter pills they afterwards made him swallow, may give the world just cause to think that their self ends bore greater sway with them then Love and Loyalty to *His Majesty*; However (nowithstanding the Lord *Cleveland* and others alledged their Treachery unto His Father, that they were Scots still, and might doe the same unto Him: That the Marquesse of *Montrosse* (who had lately received Commissions to assault the North of *Scotland*,) was raising forces in *Holland*, of whose valour and fidelity he need not to doubt of,) the Majoriry of voices carrying it for a Treaty, it was resolved on, and this answer returned to their Propositions. *That as to what was acted in the two last Sessions of Parliament, He was content a generall Act of Oblivion should be passed, but could not approve it. That neither those of Montrosses, nor Duke Hamiltons party in his last engagement should bear Office in State without consent of Parliament. That He had appointed Breda in Holland for the place of a solemne Treaty, for the making of a full accomodation and agreement between Him and His Loving Subjects of Scotland.*

Notwithstanding these large condescensions, which to reasonable men might have given satisfaction even to supererogation, the arrogant Kirk-men would not have had Him admitted into *Scotland*, but upon conditions, which should make Him wholly subservient to their Commands, and much scuffle was betwixt the State and them about it: At length a mediation is concluded on betwixt them,

and the Earl of Castles, the Lord Loshian, Burley, and Libberton, Sir John Smith, and Mr. Jefferys, for the Estates; and Mr. Broady, Lawson, and Wood, are appointed Commissioners for the Kirk.

March the 19. 1649. at *Breda* aforesaid they came before *His Majesty*, where after obeisance, the Lord Castles in behalf of the Estates, and Mr. Lawson for the Kirk made each of them a speech, candied over with many expressions of Loyalty, and unfeigned obedience, but their reall intentions may be better preceived by these Propositions; which then they delivered to *His Majesty*.

1. That all those who had been excommunicated by the Church, and still continued so, should be forbid acceſſe to Court.

2. That all Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, should be by him ratified and approved of. That the Solemne Leauge and Covenant, the Presbyterian Church-government, the Directory, Confession and Catechisme should be enjoyed in Scotland; and the same used and practised in His family, and an oath to be taken by Him that He would never oppose it, or endeavour to alter it.

3. That He would by solempne oath, and under His hand and seal declare and acknowledge His allowanne of the solempne Leauge and Covenant, and the National Covenant of Scotland.

4. That He would consent and agree that all civil matters might be determined by subsequent Parliaments in Scotland, and all Ecclesiastical matters by the Generall Kirk Assembly, as was formerly granted by His Royall Father.

Notwithstanding the unreasonableſſe of these Propositions, yet working on His Necessities, the more willing they found Him to condescend, the more impudent were they still to propose; for not long after they sent the

the Earl of Carnwarth, and Mr. Murrey, with new instructions and propositions to this effect, viz.

1. That His Majesty should confirme all Acts done in some late Sessions of Parliament, without any exception.

2, That neither Montrosie nor any of his adherents be admitted to come into the Kingdome of Scotland.

These Propositions were very stiffly debated amongst the Kings Councillors, some of them perswade His Majesty to an utter rejectment of them, alleadging, That the Covenanters horrid perfidiousness to His Father, might be a sufficient motive and inducement for Him not to trust them. That should He accept of their conditions, they would so tie up His hands that He would be then but a King onely in Title, which He was without them. That there was no reason why He should be forc'd to relinquish the Religion of His Fathers, and whilst He permitted to His Subjects Liberty of Conscience, to be denied the same Himself: That the Covenant tendred, and so earnestly prest upon Him by them, was an obligatory Covenant to binde the Subjects to Him, and not for Him to swear to; and therefore it was judged sufficiently satisfactory if He passed an Act for the peoples taking it. On the other side, those who stood for an accommodation, urged the necessity of His Majesties affairs, which both in Ireland under Montrosie, and in the Navy under Prince Rupert, were in so weake and tottering a condition, that no help could be expected from them; That all the Princes in Christendome, were so embroyled in wars of their own, that it was in vain to crave any forraigne aid; and that therefore there was no way left for His Majesty to re-gaine His lost Rights and Kingdomes, but by complying with His Subjects of Scotland; and though it were upon such conditions as would at first seem harsh, those Curbs might in time (possession once got) be thrown off by degrees.

Whilst matters were thus debating, news was brought

the King of the Marquesse of *Montrosses* ignominious death, who having gotten together about six or seven hundred men, with those small forces makes an attempt upon *Scotland*, but was by them unfortunately defeated, himself treacherously betraid into their hands by the Lord *Aston*, and at *Edenburgh* hang'd drawn and quarter'd, with all the scorn and ignominy an insulting enemy could invent. This act of theirs, considering the juncture of time, might seem to be done as in affront to the treaty, and could not but highly incense *His Majesty*, not onely for the losse of so brave a person, whose valour and magnanimity all *Europe* admired; but in their carriage towards him His Lieutenant, He might read Lectures of disloyalty against Himself. Many judged the death of this Marquesse would have put a period unto the Treaty, for those who were averse to it before, now opposed it with might and maine, telling the King, *That they had by thus murdering His Lieutenant, demonstrated to the world what they would doe to Him if they had Him in their power; That it was an act of Rashness and desperation to trust them, or to have any more to doe with such a perfidious generation. That they onely cunningly and subtilly endeavoured to entrap Him that they might destroy Him.* But notwithstanding their high words, the Kings affairs were in so low a condition, that it forced Him to embrace those conditions which He utterly detested, and to put a conclusion to the Treaty by condescending to most of their desires.

But though the King stooped thus low even to admiration, yet so impudent were they, that after the Treaty was concluded with Him, in the Parliament at *Edenburgh*, it was debated by some of them, *Whether they should make any further addresse to Him*; but the Major part carrying it in the affirmative, a message was sent to Him, inviting Him to make all possible speed to His Kingdom.

dome of *Scotland*, with a great many verball expressions of obedience, but to let Him know what rule they intended He should walk by, they debarre Him from having those whom He chiefly favour'd to waite upon Him, and nominate such persons as they thought fit out of their own gang to be Officers of His Household there.

But the King was resolved to overcome all difficulties, and having provided things in a readines, about the beginning of *June 1650.* set sail from *Holland*, and after a dangerous storme, and narrow scape of some *English* vessels which lay in waite for Him, arrived at *Spey* in the North of *Scotland*: the Parliament hearing of His arrivall sent down some Lords to receive and accompany Him to *Edenburgh*; but before He could be admitted to come unto them, they send Him new Propositions to *Dundee* to signe, which with much regret (seeing He could doe no otherwise,) He at last condescended unto.

But this was not all, for being in His way presented with several summes of money, the Committee of Estates and Kirk fearing such diet would make Him too unweildy, set forth injunctions, that what ever monies people had to bestow, they should bring it in unto such Treasuries as should be appointed by them; a very neat device not onely to bring gaine unto themselves, but to make Him the more conformable to their pleasures.

However, they pretend great matters for His service, an army is to be raised of 16000. foot and 6000. horse, of which the Earl of *Leven* is made Generall of the foot, and *Holborne* Major Generall; *David Leslie* Lieutenant Generall of the Horse, and *Montgomery* Major Generall; His Majesty (whom I name last, because He had least command,) had the Title of *Generallissimo* reserved for Him, and indeed onely the Title, for He never went into the field with His army.

Being come to *Edenburgh*, He is received by the Parliament

liament, and Committy of Estates and Kirk with infinite expressions of fidelity and affection, the Common people like Echoes answering their superiours, the whole City sounded nothing but *VIVE LE ROY*. In this Condition we will leave Him for a while, and cast an eye upon the affairs of *England*.

Whose Juncto (by the treachery of some that sat in the Parliament of *Scotland*;) had certain intelligence of all these proceedings; and now seeing things were grown to this height, they send for *Cromwell* out of *Ireland*, making him Generall in the room of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who (say some) refused to engage against the *Scots*, others say his Commission was taken from him to gratifie therewith their Creature *Cromwell*, though this their Idol afterwards prov'd their scourge; so just is God, that those who would not endure a wilde King, should suffer under a merciless Tyrant.

Having received his Commission he marches into *Scotland*, but upon his approach the *Scots* in two letters, one to himself, and another to the Parliament, complain of the invasion. To which the Parliament in a declaration, and *Cromwell* in a letter, much to the same effect replie,

That the *Scots* had once already invaded *England* under *Hamilton*, and were now ready for a second, so that the *English* did now not so much invade as prevent invasion.

That they had made peace with the Common enemy, and had not onely restored Him to their own Kingdome, but promised to give Him all assistance as to His restauration to this.

That they were not content to enjoy their own liberty in Religion, but would restrain them from theirs.

Thus from words they fall to blows, and first *Cromwell* at a place called *Muscleborough* encountereth with the
Scots,

Scots, under the command of *Montgomery*, whom he worsted, and afterwards gave them a totall overthrow at *Dunbar*, Sep. 3. 1650. a day very remarkable in the passages of his life, having on the same obtained two signall victories, was on the same chosen Protector, and on the same day died, the most fortunate of the foure, and deserveth to be Rubrickt with red letters, for deliverance from so bloody a Tyrant.

Soon after he had a dangerous fit of sickness, from which if God had been pleased in mercy to have delivered him by death, I believe he had not been guilty of so much perjury, bloud and apostacy, as afterwards he contracted.

Sad was the condition of the *Scots* at this time, being not onely perplexed with a forreigne enemy raging in her bowels, but were themselves also miserably divided into a Tripartite Schisme; one party in the West under *Strangham* and *Ker* declared for the Kirk against the King, another party in the North under the Command of *Huntley*, *Atholl*, *Seaforth*, &c. for the King against the Kirk, a third being the Parliament, and Committy of Estates, and Kirk, for the King and Kirk; with these last was His Sacred Majesty; but so imperious and insolent were they over Him in extorting declarations from Him against His own party and proceedings, in usurping the whole government of affaires to themselves, and in placing guards of their own Creatures upon His person, &c. That not able longer to suffer such intollerable affronts, he went secretly away from them to the Lord *Dedups* house in the North Confinnes of *Fife*; The Parliament and Committy of Estates and Kirk, fearing He would have gone to *Huntley*, sent Major General *Montgomery* after Him to intreat His return again to *S. Johnston's*; which at first He refused, but afterwards upon severall Propositions granted Him, He returned. And now,
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the Common enemy endangering all, they unite in affection, and a generall meeting is resolved on to be held at *S. Johnston's*, which should consist of King, Lords, Barons, Burgeffes, and the Assembly of Minuters; severall Lords formerly in disfavour with the Kirk are received into command in the Army, and have Liberty to sit in Parliament, such as *Hamilton, Landerdale, Leith, Bucheim, Dedup*, and *Crawford*, Major Generall *Massey* of the *English* was admitted to a Command in the Army. Thus did their soares begin to heal, their breaches again to be made up, and now it was well hoped these clouds of division being blown over, a serene sky would follow, and the Sun of prosperity shine upon their proceedings.

January the first following, with as great solemnity as the indigency of their affairs would permit, was the King Crowned at *Scone*, the ancient place for the Coronation of the Kings of *Scotland*, to omit the Ceremonies which were not many, as not fit to be used in so reformed a place: The King having the Crown set on His head, endeavours to maintain the same against all opposers, in relation whereunto He resolves upon the raising of an Army with all possible speed, to which effect he sets up His Standerd at *Aberdeen*, intending to be *Generalissimo* thereof Himself, Duke *Hamilton* is made Lieutenant Generall of the Army, and Sir *Thomas Middleton* Lieutenant Generall of the Horse. The Town of *Sterling* is ordered to be fortified, to which *His Majesty* went often in progreffe to view the works, and encourage the Pioners.

And high time it was for Him to basteire Himself, *Cromwell* (that successfull Rebel) having gained all on the other side *Fife*, takes the Earl of *Eglinton* prisoner, every day drew nigher and nigher to them, whereupon *His Majesty* removed His Court to *Sterling*, most of the *Scotch* army quartering about it, whither not long after

Sir

Sir *Tho. Middleton* brought 8000. men out of the North, and more were expected every day from *Argile*, *Huntley*, and *Seaforth*, who were gone to their severall territories to compleat the Kings Levies.

Cromwell desirous to fight them before they were united, used all his endeavours to bring them to a field battle, which *His Majesty* for the reasons aforesaid declined, whereupon on a sudden he draws off his army and transports 1600. foot, and foure Troops of Horse over into *Fife*, and with an unparallel'd expedition faced again the Royall Army, with a resolution to fall upon their Rear if they should attempt a motion thitherwards, yet could not this make them to stirre; In the mean time Sir *John Brown* Governour of *Sterling* with 4000. Horse and Foot, marches against that party of *Cromwells* already landed in *Fife*; *Lambert* and *Okey* having intelligence thereof, with two Regiments of Horse and two of Foot, waite over to reinforce their party, with which additionall aid they routed Sir *John Brown*, took him prisoner, with near 1200. more, and killed 2000. upon the place. *Cromwell* flesht with these beginnings, pursues his advantages, and transports his Army over *Fife*, marches to *S. Johnstons*, and takes it almost upon the first summons.

His Majesty not able to force them back, resolves with all speed to advance into *England*, well hoping the justnesse of His cause would have incited the *English* to have joyned with Him, as experienc'd also of the *Scots* valour, exprest better in other Countries then the own. *Cromwell* hereupon re-crosses *Frith*, and sends *Lambert* with a select party of Horse and Dragoones to fall upon their Rear, himself following quickly after. By the way of *Carlisle* the Royal Army enters *England*, marching with that Civility and Obedience to military discipline, that 'twas thought the Country was not endamaged six pence by them; but whether it was that their former villanies

villanies had left such a deep impression in the hearts of the people, or that they were now dulled and besotted with slavery, content with *Iffachers* asse to couch under their burthens, or rather being over-awed by an armed power, few or none came in to their assistance, saving onely the Lord *Howards* Sonne of *Estwick* with a Troope of Horse, notwithstanding *His Majesties* earnest invitations.

The Juncto at *Westminster* hearing of the Kings march, raised all the Counties against Him, and made it high Treason to aid Him with either men or monies; But the Loyall (though unfortunate) Earl of *Darby* not fearing their Bug-bear, brought Him a supply of 250. Foot, and 60. Horse, out of the Isle of *Man*, and having raised a considerable force in *Lancashire*, set upon Col. *Lilburn*, (intending to have hindered him from joyning with a Regiment of *Cromwells*, which was sent for that purpose towards *Manchester*,) but was by him unfortunately defeated, the Lord *Witherington*, Sir *Thomas Tilsley*, Sir *William Throgmorton*, Col. *Boynton*, and sundry others taken prisoners.

At *Worcester* the Royall army made a stand, resolving to abide all opposition, *Cromwell* having joyned himself with the Country forces was quickly at their heels, his army consisting of 50. or 60. Thousand, the *Scots* not 10000. at most; yet adding courage to their small number, resolved to fight it out to the uttermost; the King though of a Lambe-like disposition, yet here acted the part of a Lyon, encouraging his Souldiers both by precept and example; after severall sallies, and much courage shown on both sides, *September 2.* (an unfortunate day for the *Scots*) it came to a field fight, wherein though the Royalists valour exceeded even to admiration, yet multitude overmatching courage they were overthrown. The King (whose Horse was twice that day shot under Him)

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Him,) could not be induced to quit the field, untill He saw all the field almost cleared.

The battle being thus absolutely lost, toward three of the Clock *Thursday* Morning the 4. of *September* the King in Company with the said Earl of *Derby*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Earl of *Cleveland*, Duke of *Buckingham*, my Lord *Wilmot*, and others to the Number of fourscore, came to the place called *White-ladies* in the parish of *Tong* in the Confinnes of *Stafford* and *Shropshire*, being 25. Miles distant or thereabouts from *Worcester*, which space of ground he had Rid that Night.

This *White-ladies* was a house belonging to one *Escherbert*, where *George Penderil* (the youngest brother of five, who were all severally instrumentall in the Conducting and Preserving *His Majesty*,) hearing some body Knocking at the Gate so early, opening the Window and Espying there the aforesaid *Francis Bates* who was his brother in law, together with Mr. *Giffard*, the first thing he asked of his brother *Bates* was, what News from *Worcester*, who answered that the King was defeated, and the Enemy in pursuit of Him, therefore bid him to make hast and put on his cloaths; but ere he could doe that, the King with most of His Lords had entred the house, and were come into the hall, where after a very short debate, the Earl of *Derby* called for *William Penderil* the Eldest brother, (for my Lord of *Derby* had taken this place for his Shelter, after the defeat given him by Col. *Lilburn* near *Wigan* in *Lancashire*, and was acquainted there, & was by them conducted to *Worcester* to the King, it had also been a Sanctuary for several other Gentlemen,) who being come, *George* was sent to *Tong* within Five miles of *Wolverhampton*, to one *Robert Beard* a very honest person, to enquire of him whether there were any scattered Troops of the Kings thereabouts, or if any of the Enemies appeared thereabouts; who returned and brought

All this storie from p. 19 to p. 24 is word
very confused - the truest story is
in *D. Boscobell*

word that there were no parties at all to be seen; return-
in he met with his brother *Richard*.

Richard being come in, *Mr. Giffard* called for him, and bad him bring his best cloathes, which were a jerkin and breeches of course green cloth, and a Doe-skin Leather doublet, they borrowed an old Gray hat of *Humphry Penderill* the Miller, the course he npen shirt was had of one *Edward Martin*, with *George Penderils* band, and shoes of one *William Creswell*; which *His Majesty* unstripping Himself of His own cloaths, nimbly put on, His buff-coat, and linnen doublet, and gray Breeches, which were the cloaths that He put off, He gave into the brothers hands, who immediately buried them under ground, where they lay five weeks before they durst take them up again, the Jewels of His Arme He gave to one of the Lords, who was then going away.

Then *Richard* brought a paire of shears, and rounded the Kings hair, which my Lord *Wilmot* had Notched before with a Knife; and the King was pleased to take notice of *Richards* good workmanship, so as to preferre it before my Lord *Wilmots*, and now *His Majesty* was esteemed to be the compleat wood-man.

Hereupon *William Penderil* was presented to *His Majesty* by the Earl of *Derby*, and the care of His most Sacred Majesty committed to his charge, and the rest of his brothers: After this all that were present took their leaves, and departed, every one shifting for himself, only my Lord *Wilmot* was carried by *John Penderil*, to the house of one *Thomas Whitgreaves*; as they were going along, seeing some men coming behind them which proved to be friends, (though my Lord suspected the Country to rise upon them,) they hid themselves in a dry pit, where they stayed till Evening, and then arrived safely at *Mr. Whitgreaves*.

The Company being all gone, a wood-bill was brought
to

A more Exact History of K. Charles the II. 17

to the King, and so He and *Richard* went out into the wood; *William* went home, and *Richard* and *George* went out to scout, and lay hovering in the wood to hear or see if any one approached that way; the King had not been above an hour in that wood, but a troop of the Enemies horie came to *Whitladies* and enquired after the King, the towns-folks answered, that about three hours agoe there was a party of horse came thither, and they supposed the King with them, but that they made no stay: they were hereupon so eager in the pursuit when they heard which way they took, that they made no more search there; the King had notice of this by the aforesaid scouts, who were ever and anon stragling for intelligence into the town. All this day being *Thursday* the King continued in the wood, sometimes lying on the ground, *Richard Penderil* constantly keeping Him company; but being a rainy-day, *Francis Yates* his Wife came into the Wood and brought the King a blancker, which He threw over His Shoulders to keep Him dry, she also brought Him His first meat He eat there, viz, a Messe of Milk mixed with Eggs and Sugar in a black Earthen dish, the King guessed it to be Milk and Apples, saying, He loved it very well, after He had drank and eat some of it with a pewter spoon; He gave *George* the rest, and bid him eat, telling him it was very good; the King then exchanged His wood-bill for *Francis Yates* broom-hook, being it was something lighter.

Toward five of the clock that Evening, the King, with *Richard*, *Humphry*, *George* and *Francis Yates*, left the wood and went to *Richards* house, under the Name of *William Jones* a wood-cutter newly come thither for work; against His coming the good wife for His entertainment at supper, was preparing a Fricassee

of Bacon and Eggs, and while that was doing the King held on His Knee their daughter *Nan*, after He had eat a little He asked *Richard* to eat, who replied, yea Sir, I will, to which *His Majesty* said, you have a better stomach then I, for you have eaten five times to day already; supper ended, the King having resolved to depart in the dusk of the Evening, before He went, *Jane Penderill* the Mother of the five brethren came to see the King, before whom she blessed God that had so honoured her children in making them the instruments (as she hoped) of *His Majesties* safeguard and deliverance. Here *Francis Yates* offered the King thirty shillings in silver, the King took ten, bidding him put up the other; *Humphry* would have gone before to see and view about, but the King would not let him, it being now near night, they took their leave of the King upon their knees, beseeching God to guide and bless Him.

His Majesty and *Richard* departed, intending to go to one Mr. *Francis Wolf* of *Madeley*, thence to take passe into *Wales*; on the way as they were to goe by a Mill at a place called *Evelin*, as they were going over the bridge, it being near nine a clock at night, the Miller steps forth and asked, *who goes there?* having something that looked like a good Cudgell in his hand, to which *Richard* being foremost, thought it not safe to reply, and therefore the water being shallow, he leaped from the bridge into it, the King did the like, following *Richard* by the Ratling of his Leather breeches; the Miller was glad he was so rid of them, for as it afterward appeared, some of the Kings scattered souldiers were in his Mill, and he thought the other to be Parliamentary.

Being come to *Madely* late that night, they understood

flood the danger of passing into *Wales*, the Country being every where laid with Souldiers, and that he durst not entertain them into his house, but shewed them a Hay-mow where they might lodge, where the King and *Richard* continued all that night, and the next day being *Friday* night with the conveyance of a Maid of this Mr. *Wolfs*, who brought the King two miles on His way, they retreated back again to *Richards* house; however, to shew his Loyalty, Mr. *Wolfe* lent the King some small summe of money.

This design being crossed, *Saturday* morning without any stay, the King and he went to a house of Mrs. *Giffard* called *Boscobel*, where *William Penderil* and his wife dwelt as house-keepers, who received Him joyfully; but the Kings feet were so blistered with Travelling in such course and stiffe accoutrements as He wore on His feet, and lying in them, that He was scarce able to stand or goe; which *Williams* wife perceiving, she stript off His stockings, and cut the blisters, and washed His feet, and gave the King some ease.

The same time or near thereupon, that Noble Col. *Careles*, who as it is said before made good the Kings passage at *Worcester*, and had fought his way through; after he had been two days at one *David Jones* living in the Heathin *Tong-parish*, and there by him secured, was brought by one *Elizabeth Burgesse* to this same house of *Boscobell*, where he had layn obscure three quarters of a year before, and there His Majesty and he met; but the Colonel was so over-joyed with the sight of the King His Master in such sure and safe hands, that he could not restraîne weeping, which kindnesse of his forced the King to something of the same passion.

After a short conference touching the Kings most probable

probable meanes of Escape, it was Resolved by them to betake themselves to the wood again, and accordingly about nine of the clock that *Saturday* morning they went into the wood, and Colonel *Carles* brought the King to that famous Oake where before he had himself been lodged: this tree is not hollow, but of a sound firm trunk, onely about the middle of the body of it, there is a hole in it about the bignesse of a mans head, from whence it is called hollow; by the help of *William Penderils* Ladder, they got up among the boughs of the tree, which were very thick and full of leaves, so that it was impossible for any one to discern any thing through them.

Being both up, *William* gave each of them a pillow to lie upon, between the thickest of the branches; the King being over-wearied with his travell began to be very sleepy, so that the Colonel to accomodate Him as well as he could, desired *His Majesty* to lay His head in his lap, and rest His body upon the pillow, which the King agreed to, and after He had slept a good while, He awaked very hungry, wishing He had something to eat; whereupon the Colonel pluckt out of his pocket a good Lunion of bread and cheese which *Jone Penderil* had given him that day, and had wrapped it up in a clean linnen cloath, of which the King fed very heartily, and commending it highly for good Cheere, some other small relief He had which was put up into the tree with a long hook-stick.

At this time *Richard Penderil* was sent to *Wolverhampton* some three miles from thence, to buy wine and bisquet, and some other refreshment for the King, and withall to speak with one Mr. *George Manwaring* a person of known Integrity and Loyalty from Col. *Carles*, to know of him whether he knew of any such privacy,

vacy for two persons of the Kings party fled from *Worcester*: To which he sent word back that he had not himself, but he would enquire if a friend of his, one Mr. *Whitgreave* of *Moseley* could doe it; with this answer *Richard* returned with his wine, &c. to the King, who toward the Evening came down from the tree, and was brought into the Garden of *Boscobel* house, where in one of the bowers He sat and drank part of the wine till toward Night.

In the mean time *Humphry Penderil* the Miller was sent to get intelligence, and the easier to come by it, he was sent to a Captain of the Rump, one *Broadway*, formerly a Heel-maker, under pretence of carrying him twenty shillings for the pay of a man in the new raised Militia of their County; for their Mistis being there, in comes a Col. of the Enemies, asking for Captain *Broadways*, that he might know what further enquiry had been made at *whiteladies*, for the King; telling *Broadways* the story of it; to which *Broadways* replied, he knew nothing of it further then Rumor, but that there was one of that place in the house that could give an account of it; Hereupon *Humphry* was called, but he evaded all the questions put to him, only confessed that the King had been there as was supposed, but that there was no likelv-hood He should stay there, there being three families in the house, all at difference one with an other; then the Colonel told him there was a thousand pound that would be given to any that should take or discover Him, and that they questioned not but within a day or two to have Him delivered into their hands.

Humphry coming back related all the passages, omitting not to tell *His Majesty* of the price His Enemies had set on His head; at the relating whereof the

King looked somewhat dismayed, as having trusted his Life into the hands of such poor men, whom such a summe as that might pervert from their fidelity. This caused *Humphry* to be exceedingly troubled for His rashnesse, but Col. *Charles* assured the King if it were a hundred thousand pounds it were to as little purpose, and that he would engage his soul for their honesty, which *Humphry* also was not backward to second with many solemn Affections.

It was now late, and the King being very hungry, was desirous of a Loin of Mutton, and being come into the house, asked *William* if he could not get it Him? *William* told Him that he had it not of his own, but he would make bold on such an occasion with one of his Masters sheep in the Coat; which presently he did, and brought it into the Cellar, where the Col. impatient of delay stab'd it with his dagger: the sheep being fleyed, the King fell presently to Chopping of the Loin to pieces, which the Col. clapt into the pan, while the King held it and fryed it.

This passage was an occasion to the King of much mirth: in a discourse after His arrivall in *France*, where the question was put, who was Cook, and who was scullion, the resolution of the doubt, when it could not be decided by the Lords then present, was referred to the Judgment of *His Majesties* Master Cook, who affirmed that *His Majesty* was *Hic & Nunc*, both of them.

When this nimble collation was ended, the King was willing to betake Himself to His rest, His chamberlain *William* brought Him to His Lodging, it was a place made between two walls on purpose for secrecy, contrived at the building of the house, thither they let the King down, where He slept very Incommodiously,
the

the place not being long enough for Him, and therefore the next night they laid Him a sorry bed upon the staire-case, as they used to doe for strange wood-cutters, that the meannesse of His Lodging might secure Him from suspicion.

My Lord *Wilmot* as is said before, was all this while safe at Mr. *Whitgreaves*, only his care of the King made him full of Trouble, his hiding-place was so sure an one, that at his first coming to it, he wished so he gave twenty thousand pounds that the King were either as secure or there with him: full of such thoughts, he therefore dispatch'd away *John Penderil* (who had attended him all along) to the *Whiteladies*, to enquire for the King, and to give Him notice of the conveniency that was at Mr. *Whitgreaves*; but when he came thither, which was on Friday, the King was then gone to *Madely* to Mr. *Woolfs*; the next day he was sent again, and by *Richards* Wife directed to *Boscobel*, where he told the King his Message, which the King agreed unto, and resolved to remove thither.

Munday Night *Sept.* 8. at eleven at Night was the time resolved on for the Kings Journey to *Mosely*, but a Horse was hard to be got, but remembring that *Humphry* the Miller had one, he was called and desired to lend him for the Kings service; it was a Horse that used to carry nothing but sacks, but now he put upon him a bridle and saddle, that had out-worne its tree and irons, and at the time brought him to the gate.

The King Mounting, Colonel *Carles* and the six others Guarded Him, two before, and two behind, and one of each side armed with clubs and bills, *Humphry* leading his horse by the bridle; and so they began their Journey, it was five Miles from *Boscobel* to *Mosely* Mr. *Whitgreaves*, and the way in some places

Miry; where the horse blundering caused the King to suspect falling, and bid *Humphry* have a care, to which he answered, *that that now forinnate horse had carried many a heavier weight in his time, six strike of corn, but now had a better price on his back, the price of three Kingdomes, and therefore would not now shame his Master.*

Their travell was soon and safely ended, and the King brought the back way to a stile that led to the house; when the King was to alight, *Humphry* led the horse into a ditch, and the King alighted off upon the stile, but forgetting that most of His Guard were to return home, He went five or six steps onward without taking leave of them, when suddenly recalling Himself, He returned back, and took His leave of them in these words. *I am troubled, that I forget to take my leave of my friends; but if ever I come into England by fair or foul means, I will remember you, and let Me see you when ever it shall so please God:* so they all kissed His hand and departed, but the Colonel, *John*, and *Francis Yates*, who conducted *His Majesty* to the house.

There Mr. *Thomas Whitgreave* received the King with an extraordinary duty and affection, and brought Him in to my Lord *Wilmot*, who with an unspeakable gladnesse Kneeled down and Embraced His Knees, after some small conference *His Majesty* was had to His Lodging, and the Cunning Intiques of it shown Him, where after the King had rested Himself that night, they consulted about His Escape, which had been contrived by the Lord *Wilmot* before.

Thereupon the Lord *Wilmot* having thus by a strange providence met with *His Majesty*, sends away *John Penderil* to Mrs. *Lane*, who had before promised to
serve

serve *His Majesty* even to the hazard of her Life, who sent him back again with a parcell of Leaves of Walnut-tree boiled in spring-water, to colour *His Majesties* hands, and alter the whitenesse of His skin where it was most obvious, and withall gave notice by him to the King, what time she should be ready.

Which when *John* had related to the King, He prepared and fitted Himself for His Journey, and one Mr. *Huddleston* and Mr. *Whitgreave*, accommodated Him with Boots, Cloak, Money, &c.

On Thursday Night the eleventh of *September* Col. *Lane* came with his sister to a field adjoyning, and there they put the King before her, *John* having the honour to hold the Kings stirup while He mounted, and presently they two set forward, having taken direction to know the Country, and my Lady *Lane* having severall recommendations to the allies, friends and acquaintance of her family that lay in her intended road, if any untoward occasion should put them to the triall.

The first place where they attempted to get the King on shipboard was at a place called *Crods and Peet* hard by *Bristol*, in order to which design Mrs. *Lane* conducted *His Majesty* to the house of Mr. *Norton* a relation of hers, since Knighted by *His Majesty*, which is called *Leigh*, *His Majesty* Riding before her in the habit of her servingman.

To relate each severall accident which happened to them in their way, might seem too tedious to the reader, as the Sermon was to those that were constrained to hear it. I shall therefore only for Illustration of the story touch at some passages which were most remarkable. *His Majesty* being something indisposed in body, complained to Mrs. *Lane* that the cloak wearied Him,
where-

whereupon she desired Mr. *Lastell* to carry it, but long had they not rid so when they met her Brother in Law upon the road, who amongst other questions, asked her, if her Father must carry her mans cloak, she to wipe off all suspition made him this ready excuse, (which if a sin certainly a Veniall one) that it was so big, it often endangered the throwing her off the horse, and therefore she had desired him to carry it.

Scarce were they rid of this danger, but they met with a far greater, being to passe through a Town where a Troop of horse was drawn up, as if in opposition to hinder their passage: the Lamb though innocent fears the Woolf, and a dangerlesse fear is better then a fearlesse danger, but the Captain was Civill, took them for honest travellers (as indeed they were,) and commanding his Troop to open to the Right and Left, gave them quiet passage.

Hitherto hath our Story been Tragicall, but seldom is a day so cloudy that the Sun makes no appearance: *Diogenes* though Cynicall would sometimes smile, and *His Majesty* surrounded as it were with misfortune, yet met with one passage which made Him to laugh; coming to *Leigh* as before is said, He was left in the Kitchin under the notion of a Serving-man, with whom the Maid enters into discourse, asking Him where He was Born, what Trade He was of, with many other questions suitable to a Kitchin-Maids Curiosity; the King answers, He was Born at *Bruwingham*, and a Nailors Son; after some other discourse the Jack being down, the Maid desires Him to wind it up, which He undertakes, but being unskilfull therein, goes the wrong way about it, and somewhat prejudices it; the Maid herewith highly incensed, (Cooks being most part of

a chollerick disposition,) vents her passion in scolding tearms, asking Him where He was bred, and telling him He was the veriest Ignorant fellow she ever saw in her life, that could not tell how to wind up a Jack, with other such Language as came first to her tongues end; which being uttered with much vehemency made *His Majesty* notwithstanding His present condition to goe out of the room smiling.

Being in the same place, because the Gentleman Keeping a Noble house, *His Majesty* feared the great resort thither might occasion a discovery of His Person, He feigned Himself sick of an ague, and so keeps His Chamber all day, coming down only at nights; now that disease naturally making men cold and thirsty, *His Majesty* to possesse them that His distemper was reall, desires of the Butler a glasse of wine, who courteously invites Him into the butlery, where the Butler forces Him to drink two or three Healths; one to *His Majesty*, and another to His Mother: But at length notwithstanding His disguise, suspected Him to be the King, and thereu, on falling on his Knees he begged *His Majesties* pardon, and assured Him that he would be faithfull to Him in whatever He should command Him, of which the King seemed to take no notice, but having drunk off His wine went out; but the Butlers suspicion encreasing further, to satisfie his Curiosity, went up to Mr. *Lastell*, asking him how long he had had that servant; Mr. *Lastell* though angry at the Butlers inquisitivenesse, yet would needs know a reason of him for his demand, who whispe ing him in the ear, told him he did believe it was the King. Whereupon fearing a discovery, sends immediately up for *His Majesty*, acquainting Him with the Butlers suspicion, the King though angry that He made Him not first acquaintest

quainted with it, yet putting confidence in him denied it not, and afterwards found him very instrumental in His conveyance through the Country.

His Majesty willing to be freed from these dangers, was very desirous to be gone; but though there lay a little Bark there, deemed very fit for the purpose, yet the Master would for no reward transport a single person; whereupon *His Majesty* not willing to tempt providence too far, desired to go further Westward, to a Noble Gentleman whom He knew to be a trusty friend, and being conducted thither by Mr. *Lastell* and Mrs. *Lane*, He there takes His leave of them with many thanks for their care and kindnesse, till God should enable Him to requite them better.

Having with due respect been carefully concealed in this house for a week, at last preparation being made of a passage for Him, but coming to the place where it was provided, He chanced to dine with a Parliament Col. then there; wherefore fearing His Embarking singly might breed suspicion in him, He rather chose to loise the benefit of His passage, then after so many stormes and tempests to be split upon a rock within sight of harbour.

Wherefore returning back to the place from whence He came, He concealed Himself there three weeks longer, and then was conveyed through by-ways to a Gentlemans house in *Sussex*, where having continued some few days, he hear of search after Him being prettily well over, He was at last furnished with that small Vessell, which is now to be seen riding at anchor over against *White-hall*; the Vessell being brought, *His Majesty* went to *Shoreham* a little Creek in that Country, and there took shipping; when the skipper saw it

was

was *His Majesty*, for it seems he had seen Him oft before, he was a little daunted. But afterwards recollecting himself, he said, he was resolved to Venture hanging for *His Majesty*; to which *His Majesty* replied, that he need not put himself upon that Venture, for that he might go along with Him, where he should not want as long as He was able to provide for him; thus setting Sale from *Shorcham*, they in a small time came to Land near *Hacre de Grace in Normandy*.

But to look a little back, great was the List of prisoners taken at *Worcester*, and many taken in the pursuit, inso-much that the gleanings were almost answerable to the Harvest; but more considerable to them who were publickly suffered to make a gain of, by selling them beyondsea to perpetuall slavery: this made the *Sectarian* party Cock a hoop, and to make it the greater, publike days of Thanksgiving are appointed, to make God the patronizer of their Villanies, Murders, Tyrannies, and Treasons. And now say they, were not people blind, they might see God himself owning our cause, in those wonderfull successes he bestowes upon us: an argument scarcely worth the answering, yet of great weight amongst their silly Profelites. Then might the Turk boast of the purity of his Religion from the largeness of his Territories, and his severall victories over Christian Princes. *Ovid* though a Heathen could have taught them better Divinity then so,

— — — *Careat successibus opto,*
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.
— — — *May he never speed,*
Who from th' event makes measure of the deed,

Not

Not long after, the Juncto had knowledge how the king escaped, whereupon they vowed to make Mrs. Lane exemplary, (*Oh the grievous crime of Loyalty!*) But she having notice of their intentions, puts her self into the habit of a Country-maid, and so crosses the Country on foot to *Yarmouth*, where she got shipping, which conveyed her safe into *France*: His Majesty having notice of her arrivall, sent some persons of quality in Coaches to conduct her to *Paris*; Himself with the Queen His Mother, and the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester*, going some part of the way to meet her, entertaining her with this gratefull expression, *Welcome my Life*. And so taking her into His own Coach, conducted her to *Paris*, where she was entertained with the applause and wonder of the whole Court. The Juncto in the mean time had sent Souldiers to search after her, but missing their prey, they in revenge burnt down to the ground that poor Cottage where His Majesty first took shelter after His escape from *Worcester*.

Yet one Note more may I conceive be thought not unworthy of our Story; Many there were who had got rich prizes in the plunder of the City of *Worcester*, by which they imagined themselves enriched all the dayes of their lives; but this wealth was to them *Aurum Tholosanum*, being not only consumed in a few days, but wasted with it the rest of their Estates. And for the City it self, she quickly exalted her self again, and is said to be now in a better condition then she was before.

But let us at last proceed from the battle to the effects which it produced. *Cromwell* heightned with these successes, began to think of putting his ambitious designs in practice; and first he turns the Juncto out of doors,

doors, a thing he knew would be very acceptable to the people, as being the originall of all our Calamities; but his ambition was to make himself great, not to give relief and take away the tyranny, therefore in stead of those he puld down, he sets up another of his own arbitrary Election, who knew what they had to do before they met; for having sat a while without doing of any thing considerable, they resign up their power to him, and by the help of the Officers of the Army and *Lamberts* instrument, make him (the Lord protect us) *Lord Protector*, (The Common-wealth being in its Infancy) yet in this were we happy, that in his Reign one Tyrant only Lorded it over us, but in the Long Parliament many.

Now though *Oliver* had often sworn against the government by a single person, he could easily dispence with such triviall things as oaths, and thought them binding no further then conducive to his own interest: and because he could not crave a blessing from God upon such wicked practises, he seeks to establish himself by humane policy; Being of no Religion, he gives a toleration to all; so that what was once said of *Amsterdam*, (that if a man had lost his Religion, there he might find it,) might now as fitly be applyed to *England*, here being *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, *Quakers*, *Ranters*, *Adamites*, *Fifth Monarchy men*, and such a Rabble more, that I want a Dictionary to find out their names. The two first indeed having not much fault besides their Pride and Ambition, of which one writes of them, *That Pope John in his Chair never thought himself so big as a Cynicall Presbyter amongst his Lay-Elders, or as an Independent in a Committee of Tryers, &c.* Neither did *Pope Joan* in her State, ever think so well of her self as a sanctified Presbyterians

rians wife, drest up in her best attire. The *Anabaptists* are a bloody people, fatall both to Kingdomes and Common-wealths; and although *England* felt not much of their Cruelties, being timely prevented by the Divine Providence, yet wofull *Germany* was a long time a Stage for their Tragedies, being died red with many horrible murders and massacres. The *Quakers* are of a sowre Generation, who despise all Learning, of a crabbed disposition, looking rather like Fantasms or furies sent from Hell to deceive the world, then Christians. Yet grew they extreame potent, boasting in their Schismaticall opinions, and seducing many poor and ignorant people to their own damnation. But should I give you an account of every particular Sect, 'twould take up an age to describe them: No day but produced its Schisme or Heresie, no Cöbler but would presume to make himself the head of a Sect or Faction, glorying in thundring the holy word of God out of his prophane lips to his she-Auditors, (for so for the most part they were;) who listen to him as to an Oracle, and he presuming his confidence to be knowledge, carries himself as proudly as if he were their Ghostly father.

But to proceed. He knew that *what was acquested by force must be maintained by violence*; and therefore he had a care in raising such indigent persons to preferment, as might if not for love to him their Governour, yet for the preservation of their own interests, spend their blood in opposing any that might make resistance. And as he raised vallies, so he leveled mountains; Great men being like metled Horses, (if not well look'd to) may chance to cast those yong Riders, who are scarce settled in the saddle. Those who would not acknowledge him to be their Head, he made no more to do but cut their

their heads off ; to recite all those who suffer'd under him, would make a fourth volume to *Foxes Martyrology* ; not any who had the least appearance of Noblenesse and worth, but suffered by death or sequestration, whilst his own Mushrom'd Gentility, sprung up in a Night of Rebellion, were the simple nothings then adored.

His spies (of whom he had many) were very usefull to him, the charges of whom amounted to no lesse then two hundred Thousand pounds *per annum*. These were not onely distributed about all places of *England*, but very conversant in the Courts of most Christian Princes ; by this silver hook he gained intelligence from most places, and seldome are any secrets so close lock't up that a golden key will not open. Then for Souldiers he took such a course that he had always enough of them, having brought the Commons so low by want of Trade, that they must either take up Armes or starve ; nor would he want occasion to keep up an Army on foot, for when he had no cause he could soon create one ; witness the war he made with *Spain*, (*Englands* fast friend in all the late troubles,) by which the Trade of *England* hath been more detrimented then by all the wars we have had since 1638.

Having thus tyrannized over *England* the space of five years, he at last made his *exit* in a most horrible tempest, we may well say that God was not in that winde, though we have cause to praise his blessed and holy name for that wind-fall. As he lived unbeloved, so he died unlamented, breathing out his soul with the sin of perjury, for at his being chosen Protector, he called God to witness he was against *Englands* government being made Hereditary ; abusing to that purpose the saying of *Solomon*, *Ecclesiastes* 2. 19. *Who knoweth*

whether his son shall be a wise man or a fool? Yet at his death he endeavoured all he could to settle it in his posterity, leaving his Son *Richard* Protector of *England*, and his Son *Henry* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. And though at his death the Common-wealth was indebted some millions of pounds, yet never was any King of *England* buried in that state as was this grand Tyrant, the charges of his funerall amounting to no lesse then sixty thousand pounds, besides that he was presumptuously interred among *His Majesties* Ancestors at *Westminster*, in that very place where *His Majesty* had intended for His own rest, as if he had resolved not only to detain Him from His right when He was alive, but when He was dead also.

The Protector being interred among the Kings and Queens at *Westminster* (at a vaster charge then had been used before in the richest times) his Son *Richard*, an honest private gentleman well beloved in *Hampshire*, ascended the throne by the invitation and encouragement of *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, *Sydenham*, the two *Jones's*, *Thurlow* and others, the relations and confidents of his father, and by the contrivance of the Court received congratulations prepared at *Whitehall* from most of the Counties and Cities of *England*, and from the Armies of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, with engagements to live and dye with him, with addresses from the Independent Churches brought by *Goodwin* and *Nye* their *Metropolitans*.

This introduction being made to transerre the Government from the line of the *Stuarts* to the line of the *Cromwells*, it was conceived by some who had proceeded thus far, that a Parliament chosen by influences from Court, would easily swallow what was so well prepared to their hands. Accordingly it was resolved
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by the Proectors Juncto, that a Parliament should be called, who being met at the time and place appointed, they first declare *Richard Cromwell* Lord Protector and chief Magistrate of the Common-wealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland.*

Then they vote, after 14. days opposition from the honest party in the house, to transact with the new House of Lords. Other things they did not so pleasing to the Protector and his party. For they order a Committee to look after the accompts of the Nation in order to retrenching and lessening the charge of the Common-wealth. They had also by a saving vote asserted their interest in the fleet, and had under consideration an act for taking away all Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, concerning Excise, and Tunnage and Poundage, after three years.

Proceeding thus successfully with much satisfaction to the Nation, the Protector and the Officers of the Army, who before were jealous of one another, grew now jealous of the House of Commons, and therefore they thought it seasonable to contend for the power, before the People should recover it from them both. In order hereunto the Officers of the Army keep their Councils at *Wallingford-House*, and the Protector with his party countermin'd them at *Whitehall*. The result of the Officers debates was a Canting Representation, written in such an equivocating language, that the sting was easily visible through the Honey.

Hereupon the Protector begins to think of securing himself, and forbids their meetings, but in vain; Wherefore both sides keep guards one against another day and night. In this divided posture affairs continued till *Friday* the 22. of *Aprill* 59. on which morning early the Proectors brother *Fleetwood, Disborough,*

his Uncle, carrying the greater part of the Army with them, and the Protector's party flinching, the conquest was obtain'd without one drop of blood, and the Protector forc'd to consent to the dissolving of the Parliament, contrary to the best advice, his own interest and promises.

Far different was the courage of this young Protector from that of our magnificent Hero *Henry* the 5. who having hastily taken the Crown from the pillow of his not yet deceased father, and being by him with a sad sigh told that God knew how unjustly he had gotten it; replied, *That since his father had by his sword attained it, and being now at his death by Gods Providence devolved on him, that therefore his sword should maintain it as his Right against all opposers.* But our pitefull Protector wanted both his wit and valour, for having by fortune gotten a Crown without the effusion of either blood or treasure, yet was loth to do so much as to draw a sword for its preservation, thus according to the English Proverb, *Lightly come, lightly go*, men seldome prizing that which they never sweat for.

The fathers servants being now grown the Sons Masters, allow him some thousands of pounds, and order him to retire into the Country; but the turning out *Richard* was not all they had to do, his Brother *Henry* was still possessed of *Ireland*, who was looked upon as a man of a more courageous spirit, and doubtless they had found him so, would the Officers of the Army have stuck close to him as at first they promised, but they (according to the course of the world) left him when he had most need of them, and so made him incapable either of assisting himself, or restoring his Brother.

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The Protector being thus devested of all power and authority, *Lambert* comes again upon the stage, a person of so large a spirit and undaunted courage, that *Oliver* fearfull of his great endowments, had deprived him of all command in the Army, onely making him a member of his pageant house of Lords; during whose Protectorship he lived as 'twere retired, knowing it in vain to struggle against one who had got so settled a power; but he being dead, and an opportunity given him to present himself again upon the Theatre, his ambitious spirit would not let him lie still, but attempts to make himself Commander of these three kingdomes, as *Oliver* (by his means) had done before; which design of his in the sequell ruined him, and discovered those grand cheates and abuses which that party had put upon the Nation, endeavouring to enslave them to their own Arbitrary power, whilst they pretended to weare those glorious yet strangely wrested names of Religion and Liberty.

But to proceed, having pulled down one Government, they are inforc'd to set up another, well knowing the people would not be contented to be ruled by the sword, of all Governments the most unjust and arbitrary, and since they must have one, they resolve to have one like themselves, *even those men that murdered the King, and had for some years enslaved their Native Country.* This Rump or sag end of a Parliament do they pitch upon; So these Tyrants cement and knit together again like a Snakes tail, and for colour called themselves *the Revivers of the good old case*, and were as busy as if they had another King and three kingdomes to destroy. Thus by Gods permission that old rotten Government which was the first cause of *Englands* ruine, is new vampir and set up again, to

bring the people into a far worse then Egyptian bondage and slavery.

Two things are to be wondered at in this transaction, First, how the Rump durst credit or give any trust to the army, having formerly turned them out of doores, and likewise so lately deserted their young Protector; And secondly, how the Army durst trust them whom they had so grossely abused, with a full power over them to place and displace whom they pleased. Certainly the Rumpes intention was no lesse, then to serve the Army as they had formerly served them; but the Army were as cunning as they were crafty, and having knowledge of their design, inhibited their usurped sitting, as you shall hear anon.

Upon notice of the sitting of the Rump, those members who had been secluded by the Army in 1648. for refusing to dip their hands in the blood of their Prince; now demand an equall interest with the others to sit and Vote; but as they had formerly been violently thrust out, so are they now forcibly kept out by the Officers of the Army. This affront is highly resented by them, Mr. Pryn one of those secluded members writing strongly against them; proving them by several reasons to be no Parliament, but onely a tyrannicall and illegall authority: *they being first dissolved by the death of the King who summoned them, he being Principium, causa & finis Parliamenti. Secondly, they not being the fourth part of that number which ought to constitute a Parliament, the rest of their fellow-members being at severall times turned out of the house, according to the pleasure of the factious army; so that most Shires and Corporations in England being unjustly deprived of their Burgeses, had no power nor interest in the government of the Nation. Thirdly, their power being again de-*
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involved into the people, who having by their Votes chosen another, did disannul the authority of this Representative. But it was in vain to talk of Law to those who would be ruled by none; However for the security of themselves they proceed vigorously to change the Officers of the Army, causing them to take commissions from *Lenthall* whom they made Generall, making all the hast they can to settle themselves under the notion of the *Good old cause*. In the mean time the secluded party of the House joyning with the *Presbyterian* party, who were now kept under by the predominant faction of *Anabaptists* and *Independents*, they combine together, and seek to gain by force what by fair means they could not attain; and this their design they make almost generall over *England*, that as the ruine threatned the whole Nation, so was the whole Nation concerned in the redresse. *August* the first, (the day appointed by the Rump for the banishing the Cavaliers out of *London*) was the time set for them to rise; But by the treachery of some of the Confederates, most places of their randevous were discovered, and so the design for the most part disappointed. Yet Sir *George Booth* with divers other Gentlemen in *Cheshire* and *Lancashire*, raised a considerable force, and having secured *Westchester* and some other places, declared for a free Parliament, and to maintain the rights and priviledges of the people, the whole Nation (saving onely the Sectaries, and such who had raised themselves by the ruines both of Church and State) praying for their successe, but few or none stirring to their assistance.

It is a thing to be taken notice of even to admiration, that those very people who made their lawfull Sovereignes raising a little ship-money (which nevertheless was expended for the benefit and security of

the Nation) without authority of Parliament, one of the chief pleas for their raising wars against him, yet could now be contented with such unparalleled impositions and tyrannies, as no History can acquaint us with the like; The *Sicilian* Tyrants being but meer shadows to these, whom we may justly call the very quintessence of all tyranny and oppression.

But to return to our purpose, the Rump had soon notice of this rising, and immediately send out forces to oppose them, making *Lambert* head of the party, which gave him as fair an opportunity to put in execution his ambitious designs as possibly could be; He in ten dayes marches to them, faces, fights, and overcomes them; re-takes those holds which they had possessed, and so returns again victorious. Sir *George Booth* soon after was taken in a womans apparell at *Newport Pagnel*, and committed prisoner to the Tower of *London*.

The Rump in token of their gratitude to *Lambert* for his good service, order him a Thousand pound to buy him a Jewell, which he as frankly bestows amongst his Souldiers, intending they should requite him at a dead list; this lesson he had cond of his Master *Olivier*, to lay an Obligation upon the Souldiery, who now were grown altogether mercenary. This act of his displease the Rump, who now began to find out his design, but were not able to hinder it.

Whilest *Lambert* was thus acting in the North, the Rump were as busy in consulting all ways for their own security, as well from being supplanted by the Army, as to suppress the peoples insurrection; to this purpose they settle the Trained Bands in *London*, with six Troops of Horse, and began to raise the Militia in the Counties, appointing such Commanders over them as were fan-
ti call

ticall, yet assertors of their interest. Those Governours of Garrisons who held for the Army they put out, placing others in their Rooms, whom they could confide in; and raise three new Regiments, composed for the most part of Anabaptists, Quakers, and fifth-Monarchy-men, whom they call the Congregationall Brigade, and now they hope in short time to be strong enough, not onely to keep the people under, but in due time to curb the pride of the insolent Army.

But all their endeavours were to little purpose, *Lambert* heightened with his succeſſe, ſcornes to ſubject himſelf to any ſuperiour power, and was reſolved to leave no ſtone unturned till he had ſet up himſelf; and indeed his hopes were great, having beſides an obliged Army, many of the Rumpers themſelves his friends; the chief of whom was *Sir Henry Vane*, or rather *Sir Humorous Vanity*, a meer *Proteus* in opinion, the chief ring-leader of all the frantick Sectarians; of a turbulent ſpirit, and working Braine: a ſtrange compoſition of Choler and Melancholy, who having given himſelf wholly to whimzies in Religion, would find out crotchets in State too, and thoſe the ſtrangeſt in the world, as well his Modell teſtifies: Which we have thought fit to inſert, that men may ſee the danger which the nation hath ſcaped.

The firſt poſition was,

That all men being by nature free, are equally free from an over-ruling Magiſtraticall power.

If there be any exceſs in the ſufferings of a ſuppreſſed party, they are not to conſider what the prevalent party does, but what moves them to give them ſuch actions, ſeeing that inconfiſtency of principles juſtify a ſcrupulous ſeverity.

Where there are two or more parties diſagreeing as
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to the Erection of a government, and but one agrees to this determinate forme, there the Magistrate hath onely a direct power onely from and over them; his power over others is indirect, and in order to the safety of those that impowred him.

That they are onely the people of a Country who upon the Erection of a Government have impowred the Legislators to act, being avowedly ready to stand by and uphold them, and not every one that either farms or actually possesses lands therein.

Those dissenting people ought to be onely as the *Helots* to the *Lacedemonians*.

To be in the pay of the State, doth not render an army Mercenary, or deprive them of their share in being the people.

That those are most truly the people of this Nation, who owned the Parliament in that day of Triall, when *Sir George Booth* was up in *Cheshire*.

Neuters in any part and constitution of Government, are not to be considered as the people.

That the Presbyterians are excluded from being the people.

That the Sectaries are all included both by their previous and subsequent services to the Parliament.

That there is no Religion, which can lead a man to renounce the performances of such actions, as render him capable of civill or politicall society.

That the faithfulnessse of the Sectaries, is that whereby the State hath been and must be secured, and is sufficient to discharge satisfactorily, whom an equall Toleration can make them capable of.

Silence is not to be taken for consent, where a party is under force.

Good orders doe not secure a Common-wealth,
wherein

Wherein the Major or more active part is out-spirited for such a form.

It is not the making a Common-wealth by force that destroys a Common-wealth, but their not making it naturall afterwards.

To make a Government Naturall, the Circumstances of affaires must be so disposed of, that they may necessitate to such a posture.

That those who have adhered to the Army and Parliament in the last conspiracy, be every one of them register'd as liberators of their Country, and that they be the prime Gentlemen, and onely capable of places of power and trust, and that their posterity shall claime if of equall abilities, preheminence before others.

That all these be put into a military posture under a faithfull commander, and let none else have the use of Armes.

That the Armies of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, be included in the number of the Liberators of the Commonwealth of *England*, and registred accordingly.

That this body of the Militia of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, choose a proportion'd number of deputies at their Musters, who may elect out of their number some persons who are to make up the select Senate, or Conservators of the Liberry of *England*.

That this Senate be for life, onely that there be determinate number to be inquisitors into the Senate.

That this Senate be chosen out of the severall parties called Independents, Anabaptists, Fifth-Monarchy-men and Papists.

That Papists, Episcopall men and Presbyterians be excluded.

That the forces now in being continue for ever, as guards to the Parliament, Council of State, and select Senate.

This

This is the Chief part of Sir *Henry Vanes* Modell; by which the Nation may see the massacre which was intended to be made of their ancient Laws and Liberties. And indeed as one writes of this *Pseudo-Lycurgus*, he was the fittest man to advance any interest to the ruine of Government, who can but sooth him with the conceit that he is pleased with his *Chimeras*; such an one both *Cromwell* and *Lambert* found him, and accordingly made him subservient to their designs.

But to come to the matter, *Lambert* having finished his work in the North, in his march back to *London* begins to set his design on foot; and herein he imitates the *Ivie*, which being not able to support it self, mounts up by the *Oake*, and at length kills it; so he makes use of *Fleetwood* as a stirrop for his ambition to climbe up withall, meaning to pull the staires down when he was gotten up, as *Oliver* before had shown him the way. To this purpose the Souldiers by his instigation send up a paper to *Fleetwood*, to be by him or *Col. Cobbet* presented to the Juncto, under the name of the humble Representation of the forces under the command of the Lord *Lambert* in the late Northern expedition; The effect of which Paper was, that *Fleetwood* might be made Captain Generall of all the forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; & that *Lambert*, *Desborow*, and *Monke*, might likewise be made Generall Officers; and that *Sir George Booth*, and the rest of his complices, might be brought to speedy tryall, &c. *Fleetwood* having received the Paper, calls a counsell of some officers to consider of it, and not sounding the depth of *Lamberts* designe, communicates it to *Sir Arthur Haselrig* and *Sir Henry Vane*, members of the house; *Haselrig* being a person of a turbulent spirit, acquaints the Juncto with it, tels them there was some designe hatching by the

the Army, suspects *Lamberts* ambition to make himself chief in the government of the Land, and rashly adviseth to send him to the Tower.

The Rump netled herewith, send to *Fleetwood* for the Paper, he gives them a Copy of it, but pretends the Original was in *Cobbets* hands, who being sent for would not be at home when it should be delivered; this incenses them more then before, therefore to let them know that servants ought not to prescribe rules to their Lords and Masters, they immediately Vote, that the making of more Generall officers was needlesse, chargable, and dangerous to the Common-wealth.

The Army though angry at the Juncto's votes, were yet so wise as to dissemble it, and in stead of breaking out into fury, in an humble Petition protest their Resolutions to be still true and faithfull to them, what ever theirs and the enemies of the publike good might suggest against them; desiring them not to believe that they had any intentions to dissolve their power, or to the setting up of a single Person, which they had so solemnly and freely declared against, concluding with severall Propositions, pretended for the Nations good, and reiterated promises of their fidelity.

Thus did they strive to out-vie one another in dissimulation, yet durst not trust each others fidelity; the Army conscious of having wronged their masters, especially in so high a degree, their guilty consciences fed ever on a fearfull distrust of revenge. The Juncto on the other side had to their cost seen by former experience the danger of making a Generall over their Armies, who should have full power to give Commissions to their officers, and place and displace whom he pleased; they knew that from such a preferment there was but one step to a single Person, and so by consequence

sequence they should be bereaved of their authority. Thus did the Cocks of both factions peck at one another, and both of them wanting true worth in themselves, would make a Ladder of mischief to climb up to promotion.

Yet the Juncto receives their Petition with a seeming hearty thanks, but gave no credit to what they said, well knowing that whatever Oaths or Protestations the Army made, if once they opposed their interest, they were utterly void; therefore to secure themselves, they seek to draw to their adherence what part of the Army they could, and thought they had assured to themselves two Regiments of Horse, and one of Foot; which with their Congregationall Brigade, the Trained Bands of the City of *London*, and the Militia of the several Counties, they hope they shall be able to deal with the Army.

But by the treachery of *Vane* and some other false Brethren, their whole designs are betrayed to the Army, who now think they have a just occasion to dissolve them, and which might likewise afford a fit plea to the people.

Yet the Juncto thinking themselves secure, doubt not but to frustrate their intentions, and make void the Commissions of *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, and seven other ring-leading officers, ordering a Committee for the government of the Army, and Vote it High Treason to raise any money but by Act of Parliament, &c. But the Army in stead of quitting their power to the Juncto, resolve that the Juncto shall quit theirs to them, and once more from servants intend to turn their Masters.

And now the game begins to work, the Rump gather what force they can about the House; a Regiment of Foot, and four Troops of Horse appear, who
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are appointed to convenient places adjoyning to it, three Troops are sent unto the City to crave their assistance, but are denied, onely in *Southwark* they make some appearance.

The Army on the other side are as quick in their preparations, and asseble what force they can about *Whitehall*; they likewise send to the City, but in vain, it resolving to stand Neuter, having great cause to wish the destruction of both; and that they might not want wherewithall to doe it, the Tower of *London* supplies them both with Ammunition, and now had the Souldiers been true to each side, there might have been some bloudy noses amongst them, but what *Lucan* said of old was true of them, *Nulla fides pietasque, &c.*

Nor Faith nor Conscience common souldiers have.

And first the Rumps own Life-guard desert them, upon sight of a pistoll presented to their Captains breast by *Lambert*, and joyning with their enemies, force back their Speaker, that old Fox *William Lenthall*, who like a sponge hath suck'd up much of the Common-wealths treasure, but may we hope in time be squeezed out again. The Congregationall Brigade (or the trust that is in Sectaries) revolt likewise from them, and joyn with the Army.

The speaker *Lenthall* coming to the House, and finding the opposition of the Souldiers, commands them as their Generall to return to their obedience to the Parliament, as he then call'd it, and to acknowledge him their supreme Commander; but *Lambert* riding among them, though rather like a Hagler then a Generall, and awing them with his presence, they return'd him no answer, but what he might understand by the Language

Language of Brickbatts. Which opposition though he like not well, yet he pressed to have gon forward ; till *Lambert* coming up to his coach, whisper'd him such a word in his ear, that he was glad to wheel about and retire back to his own House. So that the Rump, by such affronts as these, taught the weaknesse of their force, and the unwillingness of their souldiers to fight, were forc'd to pull down their proud Stomacks, though utterly averse at first from hearkning to any Composition, and to surrender their power into *Lamberts* hands, though to palliate the compulsive cause of their condescension ; the Council of State seem'd to interpose as mediators, and both sides were said to withdraw to their quarters upon their command. But their partiality soon appear'd, the cause going clearly on *Lamberts* side, so that the poor Rumpers were quite shut out of dores for that bout.

Thus those men who had but some few months before solemnly protested their deep sorrow for their wicked Apostacy and back-sliding from the Good Old cause (as they called it,) and deviation from the way of God, (which without doubt they never intended to walk in) in the year 1653. when they interrupted the Rump, which were so grand Assertors of the peoples liberties, had taken such paines, and acted such glorious things (as they said) for the (good but indeed inglorious for the bad) of the Nation ; those men who had with such seeming hearty (but indeed feigned) expressions, declared their repentance for their former disturbance, and their now Resolutions to be stedfast to them, thus soon forgot both th' one and th' other ; and in so small a time relapsed into what they then acknowledged for an error.

Those Officers who had assisted the Rump are by
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the Army suspended from their Commands ; they likewise by their Declaration disanull all those Votes which were displeasing to them ; thus did they overthrow all Government which corresponded not with their will and interest.

And now both Rump and Army put forth their Declarations, accusing each other of a great deal of knavery, (of which they were both sufficiently stored ;) but as it often happens, *when Thieves fall out true men come by their own*, so by their appeaching one another, they discovered to the world the grand cheats and abuses they had put upon the Nation, which made the people to detect their horrid villanies and tyranny, and to wish the restoring of the rightfull Heir, of whom since his miraculous escape from *Worcester*, we will in the next place undertake to discourse.

His Majesty after his arrival in *France*, lived there for some while a retired life, during which time happened that notable debate betwixt the Prince of *Condé* and Cardinall *Mazarine* ; the occasion whereof was the Cardinalls great power, and abuse thereof, not only miserably oppressing the people, but also depriving the Princes of the Bloud of their Right ; whereupon they charge him with severall miscarriages of State, to which the Cardinall makes a defensive answer. The King also by the instigation of the Queen his Mother, (during whose Regency *Mazarine* arrived to that height) enclines to his side, alledging *That he had approved himself both a faithfull servant, and an able Minister of State*. But the Princes were so exasperated against him, that nothing but his banishment will serve their turn, which finding the King averse unto, they resolve to accomplish their desires by force, and to strengthen their faction, desire assistance of the Duke of *Lorraine*,
then

then in service of the *Spaniard* with ten thousand men.

These differences arriving to such a height, caused *His Sacred Majesty of England* to use his utmost endeavour to cement the breach, and bring them again to a reconciliation; but all his undertakings proved fruitless, and instead of producing a pacification, contracted an unjust odium upon himself, both the Princes and the Cardinall surmizing he counselled the King against them.

This false asperision coming to the ears of the vulgar, who were great adorers of the Princes, as those whom they imagined stood for their Liberties, so incensed them against the *English* Princes, as to the threatening violence against their persons; whereupon *His Majesty* (knowing the madness of popular commotions) to avoid their fury, retires himself for a while to Saint *Germanes*.

But the Cardinalls malice was more then the peoples, though he hid it under a politick veil, (as the deepest waters carrie the smoothest brow,) which he afterward found opportunity to expresse, perswading the King of *France* to make a peace with *Cromwell*, and most unworthily to dissent his royal kinsman.

But what is affinity or former courtesies in competition with self interest? the thrice valiant Duke of *Yorke*, who under the Marshall of *Turine* had performed such eminent services against the *Spaniard*, as hath made his name deservedly famous, yet was by them ungratefully expelled, with a Complemental Apology for his departure. This Magnanimous Prince who at eighteen years of age had done Acts answerable to the ancient Hero's, whose valour and prudence were in high esteem with the most Renowned Princes throughout all Christendome,

slendome, notwithstanding his many Remarkable services, yet was by this his near kinsman who styleth himself *The most Christian King*, most unchristianly deserted, to ingratiate himself with an usurping Tyrant.

The most illustrious Duke of *Glocester*, who had a long time been detained by the Juncto in the *Ile of Wight*, and was at last permitted by them to go to his Sister the Princess Royal in *Holland*; being now likewise come thither for succour and relief, was also forced out of *France*. This pious Prince whom neither the persuasions of great men, temptations of Riches and Honor, nor the severe commands of his own Mother of never seeing her face again, could alter nor move from the Protestant profession, could find no Harbor there in his distresse; *Cromwells* interest outweighing Majesty, valour, piety, and consanguinity.

These afflicted Princes being thus unworthily forsaken by the *French King*, *His Sacred Majesty* took his journey into *Germany*, where the Lord *Wilmot* had long been Ambassador for him to sollicite aid and assistance. The Duke of *Glocester* followed him not long after, (accompanied with his Royal Sister the Princess of *Orange*;) whom they found at *Collen*. Having staid there a while, these three Princes, together with the Marquess of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Normich*, the Lord *Newburg*, and severall Ladies and persons of quality went in progresse to the Faire at *Franckford*, being complemented in all Princes Countries thorough which they passed, by their chief Ministers of State, and saluted with their great guns from their Towns and Castles.

During *His Majesties* aboad at *Frankford*, *Christina* Queen of *Sweden*, (who had some time before voluntarily resigned her kingdom into the hands of *Carolus*

Gustavus her kinsman,) was passing that way in her intended journey to *Italy*: of which *His Majesty* having notice, (there being some simpathy in their fortunes, onely with this distinction, the one a voluntary exile, the other forced from his kingdome by tyranny;) he with the Duke of *Glocester*, and a gallant Traine, gave her an interview at a Village called *Conningstein*, not farre from *Franckford*; where betwixt these two Potentates passed many Ceremonious Complements, each thinking themselves obliged to the other for so grand a favour.

After some short stay at *Franckford*, *His Majesty* returned again to *Colen*, being by the way most sumptuously entertained by the Elector of *Mentz*: During his stay at *Colen* was found out the Treason of one Captain *Manning*, who under pretence of waiting on *His Majesty*, discovered all his designs and counsels to *Cromwell*; This unhappy wretch confessed his salary from the Protector was a hundred pound a month: by which one may guesse the vast profusion of Treasure spent upon these Villaines. His Treachery being discovered, he was by *His Majesties* command sent to a strong Castle adjacent to *Colen*, there to be kept close prisoner. But his perfidiousness was so highly resented at Court, that one of *His Majesties* servants (though contrary to order) pistol'd him as he was lighting out of the Coach at the Castle-gate, which though it came far short of his desert, yet was not so well done, in sending the Devill his due before his time, and wronging the Hangman of his labour.

Not long after upon the Breach betwixt *Cromwell* and the King of *Spain*, *Don John de Austria*, Governour Royal of the Low-countries for his Catholike Majesty, sent the Count de *Fuensaldagne* his Ambassadour to our King,

King, solemnly inviting him into *Flanders*, assuring him in the name of His Royal Matter all possible service and assistance; which invitation *His Majesty* kindly accepted, and leaving *Colen* came to *Bruges*, the place appointed for his reception, where for the most part he remained till such time he was treated by the *English* for his return, finding the *Spaniard* of a generous Nature, and far more constant then the fickle *French*.

Hither not long after came his Brother the Duke of *Yorke*, who in regard of the great command which he had in the *French* Army, had staid there till the conclusion of the League with *Cromwell*, but then was warned to depart with all his retinue (consisting of a gallant number of young *English* Gentlemen, bred up under his valour and conduct,) having but a short time respited for their stay. (*Cromwells* hatred to the Royal family never ceasing time nor place for their persecution,) during which time he was visited by the Duke of *Moderona* then in *France*, and other *French* Grandees, especially the Marshall of *Turine*, who bore an Honourable respect towards him, and was very sorrowfull for his dismissalment.

In his way he touched at *Brussels*, where he was magnificently entertained by *Don John*, to whom he freely proffer'd his service in the wars, which was with a great deal of thanks accepted: and long wanted he not occasion for his valour, the *English* and *French* forces (according to the Articles concluded on betwixt them) beleaguering *Dunkirk*; which being a place of great importance, (an inlet into *Flanders* by sea,) care was taken how to raise the siege: to which purpose *Don John* levies what forces he could either by his own or *His Majesties* influence, which joyning with those

noble Spirits under the thrice valiant Duke of *Yorke*, make up a considerable Army. Himself in person, together with the Dukes of *Yorke* and *Glocester*, marching with them toward the Besiegers ; who having notice of their approach, lest such forces in the League as might secure them from a salley, and with the rest drew up towards *Don John* ; The *French* and *English* (notwithstanding those they had left in the Trenches) were more numerous then the *Spaniards* both in Horse and Foot ; whereupon adding confidence to their number, with undaunted resolution drew up a forlorne hope of *English* Infantry, and desperately charged the *Spanish* Foot, and being seconded with *Lockharts* Regiment, after a hot dispute gave them a totall rout, in this conflict *L. C. Fenwick* lost his life. The *Spanish* Cavalry seeing their Foot overthrown, fly with them for company, nor could by any perswasions be induced to stand ; whereupon the *French* Horse who all that while stood still, with a full Carreir pursue their flying enemies. But the Duke of *Yorke's* Regiment not used to shew their backs to an enemy, gave them a desperate charge and made them to stand, whilest their flying Friends saved their lives : But after a noble and gallant resistance, over-powered by numbers they were overthrown, very few of them escaping, amongst which were the Dukes of *Yorke* and *Glocester*, though the first was not heard of till three days after, whereupon some have conjectured that he was taken by the *French* forces, but by *Turins* after at a fit opportunity nobly releast.

But to return again to our *English* affairs from whence we have made a long digression. Great was the joy of the people at the exit of the Rump, not only rejoicing inwardly, but breaking out into open laughter for

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for joy : but *nyllum commodum sine incommodo*, there is no pleasure without a displeasure. No sooner had the Rump left riding us, but up gets the Committee of *safety* into the saddle, consisting of these persons following.

Charles Fleetwood.
John Lambert.
Gen. Desborough.
Mr. Steel.
Lord Whitlock.
Sir Hen. Vane.
L. Gen. Ludlow.
C. Sydenham.
M. Saloway.
L. Strickland.
Col. Berry.
L. Lawrence.

Sir James Harrington.
Lord Wariston.
L. Major Ireton.
Col. Tichburn.
Mr. Hen. Brandrish.
Mr. Robert Thompson.
Col. Hewson.
Col. Clerk.
Col. Lilburn.
Col. Bennet.
Mr. Cornelius Holland.

Such a pack of fools and knaves, that had **Lambert** studied seven years he could hardly have found such another. Wherefore this government was far more the scorn and derision of the people then the former, who now begin to see the difference betwixt being rul'd by a gentle Prince, and many Rusticks. The most remarkable thing that happened during their sitting, was the death of that grand Regicide President **Bradshaw**, (all their doughty acts besides for the good of the Nation scarcely affording matter enough for **Needham** to make a penny Pamphlet of,) *October 31. 1659.* he made his *exit*, cheating thereby the Hangman of his due ; But that there might be some shew of sorrow made at his funerall, the Gallows (as related to him) was arrayed in mourning. And **Needham** writes his Elegy, when 'twould make a man smile to see the soft

and tender-hearted Villain weeping (like *Niobe* till he turn'd stone) over his Tombe: To see him cry with one eye and laugh with the other, (as one that could fit himself to all humours if gainfull,) and yet the Tragico-micall Rogue keep his countenance. The tears of such a Saint (as one writes) falling like drops of *Lambeth* ale upon the tongue of *Dives*; but enough of this filthy subject, we will take our farwell of him, and leave him with his fellow creatures, *Judas*, *Ravillack*, *Catesby* and *Noll*.

But though the Devil was merry at his Company in Hell, *England* was still troubled with his Companions on earth, *The Committee of safety* were now Lords Paramount, whilst the City of *London* for want of Trade was become a Cage of Broken Merchants, and Tradesmen being ready to perish for want of business, and their families for want of bread, nor had the poor any other employment then to curse the causers of their miseries. Their Longanimous patience being now worne out with a tedious expectation of a change, but seeing no hopes of any period to their miseries so long as this usurped government lasted, they resolved to petition the Common Counsell for their assistance towards the obtaining of a free Parliament, according to which Resolution a Petition was drawn, subscribed, and presented; but by reason of some pretended informality in the addresse, it was laid aside. However they resolve the re-enforcement of it, but the Gentlemen at *Westminster* not willing to hear of any things of this Nature, ordered part of the Army under Col, *Huson* to march into the City, and by violence to hinder it as he march'd in the boys hoored at him, reviling his publike appearance for such whom he might now perceive how the people generally hated; he minds
them

them not, but goes on; and being come to the Old Exchange, draws up his Myrmidons, where the boys persisting as they began, the incensed Colonel causes his men to shoot among them, so that two or three of them were kill'd, and among the rest one of the Colonels own calling, a cobbler, who was accidentally standing in the Croud. The Kings party seeing these tumults, expected now that something might be done, and therefore they walk the streets in great numbers privately armed, with a resolution to fall on, when they saw the Citizens begin. But the Major, then in great favour with the tumult, part by promises and part by intreaty kept all things very quiet; for which he was afterwards undeservedly blam'd by those who were over-cholerickly loyall. Neither was *Huson* idle, marching up and down the City with that insolence and barbarisme which is not to be express'd, for besides those kill'd at the Exchange by the Colonels direction, (for which he was afterwards indicted and convicted at the *Old-baily*,) his souldiers took the Liberty in other places to maim some, and murder others; others to seize and carry away prisoners.

But this was nothing to what they intended, the City must be burnt too, to make it a compleate sacrifice of their indignation; to which purpose a prodigious quantity of fire-balls were laid in at *Pauls*, and *Gresham Colledge*, which two places they had made Guards of, converting the house of prayer to a Den of Thieves. Thus was the City design'd for fire, sword, and pillage, had not God by a timely period prevented their designs.

Thus while these mens miscarriages doe invest *His Majesty* with the love of his people, he lives retiredly at *Bruges*, expecting either what his loyall subjects might,

might, or what the successe might be of that treaty which was then in agitation between *France* and *Spain*. *His Majesty* having some hopes to believe that those two Crowns united might joyn to his relief. In order to this treaty the two grand favorites of both Crowns being met upon the frontiers, *His Majesty* was also invited thither by *Don Lewis de Haro*. *His Majesty* received this invitation at *Dieppe* in *Normandy*, whither he had withdrawn himself to attend the successe of *Sir George Booths* businesse, his friends in *England* having given no small encouragement to his hopes : But seeing the ill success of affairs in *England*, he hasts to the Frontiers ; being come to *Roan* he takes post, accompanied with the Marquess of *Ormond* and the Lord *Digby*, and being at length arrived near the end of their journey, he sends to give *Don Lewis* notice of his approach, who presently with a noble traine came forth to meet him. When they came near, *Don Lewis* alighted from his horse, and kneeling down, though in a place by reason of the dirt somewhat inconvenient for that purpose, he clapt his hands about *His Majesties* knees, and with a great deal of humility and affection kissed them. From this place *Don Lewis* accompanied *His Majesty* to the place provided for his accommodation, riding bare-headed before him ; where he was all the while of his stay nobly and sumptuously entertained. Many propositions are made by *His Majesty* to *Don Lewis*, as to the giving him aid and assistance for the regaining of his right, to all which *Don Lewis* returns civill and pleasing answers, behaving himself with that respect to *His Majesty*, as if he had been his Master himself.

His Majesty having spent some time here returns to *Paris* where he staid with his Mother some few days,
and

and so returns to his retirement at *Brussels*: what the successe of *His Majesties* private and personall negotiation, we make no question that time would have discovered not a little to his advantage, had not his long drooping affaires received new life from an unexpected alteration of the scene.

For as his enemies were busy in their endeavours for the destruction of the Nation, so was Generall *Monke* the Governour of *Scotland* as studious how to save it. The peoples eyes were all fixed upon him, as their *Moses* to deliver them from this iron yoke of Egyptian bondage. He having received intelligence of the Armies proceedings, weighing the miseries attending such Anarchicall confusions, resolves with himself by the divine assistance to put a period to these unhappy distractions, by setting the government on its right Basis or Foundation. To this purpose having first declared his dissent from their proceedings, he secures divers strong holds of that Nation, as also those Officers of his own that concurred not with him in his resolutions.

Having done this he sends a letter to the Officers of the Army at *London*, importing something of dissatisfaction in himself, and some Officers of the Army in *Scotland* in reference to the things newly done in *England*. The Council of Officers having received this Alarum had a nocturnal consultation, the result whereof was, that the regiments should forthwith march Northwards, and that *Lambert* should goe to command them; but knowing too well the person with whom they had to deal, or whether it were that the souldiers would not fight one with another, *Lambert* and the rest thought it their wisest course to see whether they could undermine him, by the pretence of a treaty and a few fair p^{ro}posalls.

falls. Hereupon *Whaley*, and *Goffe*, and *Carill*, and *Backer*, are sent away to remonstrate to *Monck*, the State of Affaires in *England*, and thereupon to mediate with him under the fair pretence of avoiding the effusion of more blood. The Officers also wrote unto him and his Officers, to expostulate with him touching a necessity of a brotherly Union. *Morgan* also takes a journey out of *Yorkshire* into *Scotland*, to see if he could bring the Generall to a Composure. But during these overtures, the thoughts of action were not at all laid aside, wherefore *Lambert* follows his commanders, beginning his journey on the third of *November*, and quartering at *Ware* that night. Generall *Monck* also begins to look about him, He removes those Officers which he had secured in *Tintallon Castle* unto the *Croß Island*, draws his forces together, secures *Barwick*, and sends Major knight with a Party of 500. Horse into *England* as far as *Morpeth*, as it is supposed to see what parties there were in that Country to joyn with them, which is the rather conjectured, because they retreated so suddainly without making any further attempt, nor was it safe for them to stay there, in regard that *Lamberts* more numerous forces were gathering together about *New-castle*. However to amuse his adversaries he sends three Commissioners to *London*, viz. *Col. Cloberry*, *Col. Weekes*, and *Major Knight*, to treat with the same number of persons on their side; They arrive, enter into a treaty, and too hastily conclude upon these particulars following.

That the title of Charles Stuart be renounced.

That the three nations shall be governed by a free State and not by a single person.

That a learned and godly Ministry be maintained.

That the Universities be reformed and countenanced.

That

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That the Officers and Souldiers be indemnified for what is past.

That the armies retire and be dispos'd of into their respective quarters, most advantageously against the Common Enemy.

That Whitlock, Vane, Ludlow, Saleway, Berry, be chosen for England, That Saint John, Waretton, Harrington, Scot, and Thomson, together with the Generalls three commanders be chosen for Scotland.

That Steel, Barrow and Dobson, be elected for Ireland, to give their assistance in determining the qualifications of such persons, as are to be members of succeeding Parliaments.

That two field officers of the regiments in the three Nations, and ten on the behalf of the sea officers shall meet on the sixt of December as a generall councill, to advise touching the model of civil government that should be then ready to be presented to them.

These were the chief heads of the agreement signed by the Commissioners on both sides, &c sent immediately away likewise unto Scotland for the Generalls consent. But Generall Monck, instead of consenting, summons a Convention to meet at *Edenburgh*, and sends away a letter to the City, yet so contrived that both the character and the speech seem'd suspicious; which was delivered by Col. *Markham*, and Col. *Askin*, in behalf of the Long Parliament, not seeing the depth of the designe. To the Convention he proposes three things,

That having received a call from God to march into England for resetting the Parliament, they would during his absence which would not be long, preserve the peace of the Nation.

That if any troubles should arise they would assist him in the suppressing thereof.

That

That they would raise him some money.

To which the convention answer'd, that for the raising of money, they were ready to doe it.

As to the other two demands, they reply'd that they were in no condition to perform his desires, being that they wanted armes; However that they would endeavour it. Preparations therefore for warre still goe on, and the Horse after some endeavours, wherein Major Generall *Morgan* was very active, were perswaded to sign the Engagement, which was offer'd to them by Generall *Monck*.

Some weeks had pass'd when Generall *Monck* thinking it now necessary to return some kind of answer to what his Commanders at *London* required from him, as to his consent to those articles which they had among themselves agreed upon, wrote a letter to *Fleetwood*, bearing date from *Edinburgh Novemb. 14.* wherein he signified, that he was very glad to find his Lordship and the Officers of the Army of so complying a spirit, and so tender of the publick peace; but because he was desirous that the agreement should be full and firme, and because he did conceive that some things did remaine untreated of and unagreed upon, that therefore 'twas the resolution of himself and the rest of the Officers there, to adde two more to those that were already commissioned, to treat with the same number of such as should be appointed by his Lordship for the putting a finall end to this unhappy business; and that the place if his Lordship would permit should be at *Newcastle*; which being granted Generall *Monck* managed the occasion of delaying them so prudently, that while they were eager to entrap him, they never perceived the advantages which the other gain'd upon themselves. While they are debating at *Newcastle*,
the

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the Committee of Safety and the Council of Officers have many debates at home. They labour much to satisfie the City, *Whitlock* to his praise be it spoken, together with *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* being very industrious to that purpose; but the Citizens having with much struggling chosen an honest and resolute Common-council, at length disown'd them, and desire, though it were a sound most ungratefull to the men at *Wallingford-house*, that they may have a Free-parliament, which animosity of theirs was much augmented by *Husons* insolence and the murders which he committed, in the midst of their City on the 5. of *December*.

The second thing they so much endeavour'd was to bring forth the form of government, of which they had so long been in travel, and at length they conclude upon seven unalterable principles or fundamentalls as they name them, which were,

First, That no kingship should be exercised in the nations.

Second, That they will have no single person to be chief Magistrate.

Third, That an army be continued and maintained, and conducted so as to secure the peace of the Nations, and nor be disbanded, nor the conduct altered but by consent of the *Conservators*.

Fourth, That no imposition be upon the Consciences of them that fear God.

Fifth, That there be no House of Peers.

Sixth, That the Legislative and Executive powers be distinct and not in the same hands.

Seventh, That both the assemblies of the Parliament shall be elected by the people of this Common-wealth duly qualified.

But neither this piece of confusion, nor *Husons* regiment

ment could appease the City ; so that by meer necessity constrained, the Council of Officers most graciously condescend to the calling of a Parliament , and the Committee of Safety order the issuing out of writs accordingly, thinking to stop the breach which they had so over-hastily made.

The *Rump* seeing these confusions, were not idle for themselves ; They knew that of the two, *Generall Monck* inclin'd to their side then *Lamberts*, and that in *Lamberts* army they had also many friends, if they could but shew themselves. The first Alarm which the Committee of Safety & the Officers received was from *Portsmouth*, where *Harstlerig*, *Walton*, and *Morley* had made sure of the Garrison, and so dealt with Viceadmirall *Lawson*, who gave the second Alarm, which rung like a knell in the then more amazed ears of these people ; for he sent them a declaration in his own and the name of severall of the sea-commanders, insisting upon severall reasons why they conceiv'd it necessary that the long Parliament should sit again. Hereupon *Vane*, *Saloway*, and *Salmon*, were sent down to conferre with him, but *Scot* being there with two bolsters, one for each elbow ; kept him so steady, that 'twas impossible for them to hale him on one side. So that at length he positively declares for the Long-Parliament, the Souldiers also which were sent to block up *Portsmouth* submit to *Harstlerig* and *Morley*, declaring positively for the Rumps re-sitting. *Desboroughs* regiment, which was by the Committee of Safety sent for, to strengthen their party, being come as far as Saint *Albans*, when they heard how things went, make a halt, and pause upon't. Hereupon *Harstlerig* with what forces he had marches for the City, and those regiments which were about the town, being rendezvouz'd by *Okey* and *Alured*,
declare

declare their resolutions to live and dye with the Parliament; which being done, the Speaker *Lenthall* takes charge of the Tower, and delivers it to the Care of Col. *Fitch*. The Rump being now absolute masters of the field, give the conduct of the Army to *Popham*, *Thomson*, *Scot*, *Okey*, Sir *Ant. Ashley* Cooper, *Alured*, and *Markham*, and the custody of the Tower to Sir *Ant. Ashley* Cooper, *Weever*, *Scot*, and *Barners*. They also order *Lamberts* forces to repair to their quarters, and send Letters of thanks and acknowledgment to *Generall Monck* for his fidelity and good service. *Ireland* also submits, and *Lockhart* courts them in a Letter from *Dun Kirk*; but at length comes the welcome news of the submission of *Lamberts* forces, who seeing their *Generall* either so baffled or disappointed, forsake him, and he thereupon sends a letter of submission to the Parliament. *Generall Monck* also humbly congratulates the recovery of their power; These fair gales blowing so briskly in their poop, they think they have the world in a string, and therefore having spoke their friends fair, they begin to think of talking with their enemies. In order to which they ordaine an act for the publick sale of Sir *George Bootbes* Estate; They also discharge Sir *Harry Vane* from being a member of the House, and order *Lambert*, *Disborough*, *Ashfield*, *Berry*, *Kelsey*, *Packer*, *Cobbet*, and *Creed*, to repair to their most remote habitations from *London* during their pleasure; but finding them to stay in town, give order to the Council of State to secure them. *Generall Monck* they desire to come as speedily as he can to *London*, for else they saw he was resolved to come without bidding; whereupon he advances into *England*, and at *Morpeth* the sword-bearer of the City meets him, with a letter from the Lord Major and Common Council, whom

he speedily return'd with an answer. The Parliament for all their complements being not well satisfy'd in the intentions of Generall *Monck*, send *Scot* and *Robin-son* under pretence of congratulating with him for the good success God had given to his endeavours, to prie into his actions, and to make discovery of his proceedings. And to curry favour with the Nation in generall, they put forth a Declaration, wherein they promise to this effect, first, they declare their resolutions to perfect what they had begun, for settling the government of these Nations, and the people thereof in the way of a Common-wealth and free State.

That all proceedings touching the Lives, Liberties, and Estates of the free people of this Common-wealth should be according to the laws of the Land.

That they would make effectual provision for countenancing an honest godly ministry, and that impropriations and augmentations should be continued.

That they would uphold all the Schooles and Universities in the land, and continue their privileges.

That they would apply themselves with all speed to such Counsels and means as should be found most proper for the speedy increasing of trade.

Lastly, as to the present burthens, that they were very sensible thereof, and that it was one of their greatest cares to give the people ease.

But the people were now grown too wise to believe those who had so oft before deluded them, & now seeing them fall to their old tyrannies afresh, under pretence of restoring them their long enthralled liberties, begin to rouse up themselves, and to shew their generall hatred towards them. To Generall *Monck* therefore as a person whom they saw to be of a free and ancient English spirit, they resolve to make their applications, laying

laying before him the infidelity, treachery, and tyranny of the Rump, beseeching him to assert their liberties, and promising him to stick by him in the maintenance of their freedome. The *Devonshire* men, as being his own COUNTRYMEN, began; the substance of whose addresse, and the Generalls answer we shall insert, being indeed the full scope of what all demanded, and of the answer which all received. The substance of the addresse was this; *That they found their COUNTRYMEN groaning under high oppressions, and a defect of trade: that though there was an alteration in the State. affaires by the reassembling of the Long Parliament, yet that they found themselves but in part redress'd, and that therefore the chief expedient would be to recall those members that were seclused in 48. that they may fill up the vacant places, and not be oblig'd to oaths before their sitting: for which things they should defend him against all opposers with life and fortunes.*

To this the Generall answers, *That the government was monarchicall before the warre, that since there have been severall interests, that these interests are interwoven by marriages and purchases, and all engag'd against the King as to Civils, and therefore that no government can be good that doth not rationally comprehend the preservation of all the said interests. That Monarchy cannot be admitted because its support was taken away, and besides that it is exclusive of all the Civil and Spirituall interests now in being: which premises being granted, to admit of the seclused members, as being monarchicall, and such as would abolish the laws made since their seclusion, would engage the Nation in a new warre, upon the account of self-preservation; that therefore he thought 'twas better to submit to the present Parliament.*

Such doubtfull answers as this, as they pleas'd the
Rump,

Rump, so they did not dissatisfy the other party, but gave cause to both parties to think well of him.

At *Northampton* he receiv'd another address from the hands of Sir *John Norrice*, to whom he replies that he was but a servant of the Parliaments, with whom he ought not to interpose in matters of Highest concernment.

On the 28. of *January* at Night the Generall arrived at *Saint Albanes*, where he had severall addresses made to him from *Norfolke*, *Suffolke*, *Buckingham*, and *Leicester*; being come thither he sends to the Parliament to send their forces out of town, and quarter them according to the lists which he had sent them; which they readily order'd the Commanders of the army to see performed accordingly.

Generall *Monck* being now not far from *London*, whose forces quartered in the City were ordered to march from thence, to make Room for his Excellencies Souldiers: but they having learned of their Masters to be Rebellious, refused to goe; and having cast off their Officers, a considerable party of them engarrisoned themselves at *Somerset-house*. That night also the Apprentices drew themselves into a party in the City, intending (no doubt) to have joyned with the discontented Red-coates, which had they done, they might have given a shrewd Alarum to the Rump; but before their joyning they were dissipated by a part of the Army-horse. The Mutiners upon a false Alarum were got out of the Town, and having their mouths stop't with a little pay, were commanded away, leaving the Town quiet, and in condikion to entertain honest Guests.

February 3. His Excellency marched in the head of his Army to his Quarters at *White-hall*; On the 6. of the

the same Month he was by *Scot* and *Robinson*, Squires of the Rump, conducted to that *Image of Authority*, assembled in the House where the Parliament usually sits; where he was by their pretended Speaker complemented with a fawning speech, candied over with Scripture-phrases to make it the more plausible. To which His Excellency returned a more pertinent answer, informing them of the severall applications, and numerous subscriptions he received from most Counties in his March from *Scotland*; the chiefeſt Heads of their desires being for a *free and full Parliament*, a *Godſpell-Miniſtry*, *incouragement of Learning and Univerſities*, *admittance of the Members ſecluded before 1648.* and that they would determine their ſitting, &c. But theſe were matters they loved not to hear of, much leſſe reſolved to praſtiſe; yet ſeeing the peoples earneſtneſſe was ſuch, and that it was in a manner the agreement of the whole Nation, they at laſt moſt graciouſly condeſcended to promiſe a full Representative, but no ſecluded Members to be admitted, nor in effect any other then Phanatiques.

The ſupreme Trifle was now come to a forced put, monie; muſt be railed to pay the Souldier, and the pride of the Stubborn Citizens taken down that would not let the Rump to ride them, or *the Good Old Cauſe* would be totally ruined; in order to both, our comes a Tax of 100000*l.* *per menſem*; this being debated in Common-council, they agreed in the Negative, which ſo incenſed the *Back ſide*, that they adjudged the affront intollerable; and immediately poured out their indignation upon the City in theſe following Reſolves.

Thursday February 9.

The House received a report from the Council of State, of some Resolutions taken by the Council, in relation to the City of *London*.

Resolved, That the Parliament doth approve of what the Council of State hath done in Ordering, that the Commissioners for Government of the Army, do appoint forces to be and continue in the City of *London*, for preserving the peace thereof, & of the Common-wealth, & for reducing of the City to the obedience of Parliament.

Resolved, That the Parliament doth approve of what the Council of State have done, in ordering that the Commissioners for the Army doe take order that the posts and chaines in the City of *London* be taken away.

Resolved, That the Gates of the City of *London*, and the Portcullices there be forthwith destroyed.

Resolved, That the Parliament doth approve of what the Council of State, and Commissioners of the Army have done, in seizing and apprehending of Mr. *Vincent*, Merchant in *Bishopsgate-street*, and *Thomas Brown*, Grocer in *Wood-street*, *Daniel Spencer* in *Friday-street*, *Laurence Brompsfield* in *Tower-street*, Major *Chamberlain*, Mr. *Bludworth*, and *Richard Ford*, in *Seething-lane*, Major *Cox* at the *Swan* in *Dowgate*, Mr *Penning* in *Fanchurch-street*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Jackson*.

Resolved, That the present Common-council of the City of *London*, Elected for this year, be discontinued, and be and are hereby declared to be Null and Void, and that the Lord Mayor of *London* have notice hereof.

Ordered, That it be referred to a Committee to bring in a Bill for the Choice of another Common-council, with such Qualifications as the Parliament shall think fit, with order to meet at eight of the Clock in the Speakers Chamber to morrow morning.

These

These Resolves they send to the Generall to put in execution, intending with this stone to kill two Birds, not onely to bring the Citizens in subjection, and to make them pay in their money, but also to create a hatred betwixt them and the Generall by this odious employment, of whose uniting they had more then an ordinary jealousy. However his Excellency in obedience to their Commands, marches into the City with his whole Army, seises on divers of their Common-council, and sends them to the Tower, digs up their Posts, and breaks down their Gates, and all done with such a seeming compliance to the Rump, that the stupefied Citizens having now fear added to their slavery, durst hardly murmur, but with sighs and nods bid adieu to their liberty.

Whilest His Excellency was thus busied in the City, the Rump were as busy as Bees at *Westminster*, for notwithstanding the General had so lately preserved them, yet they most ungratefully sought his ruine ;

First they enter into a secret combination with the Sectaries, who upon their instigation present unto them *a representation and addresse*, wherein was so little of divinity, that there was hardly any morality ; however with much formality it was brought them by *Barebone* and others of the same gang : but this instead of doing good did hurt, for the people now plainly deserying the ruinous tenents of these people, were rather the more resolved against them, then terrified to see the Rump mounting up a faction against them.

And then also seeking to cast *Monck* to who n so lately they were so ocourteous, out of power, they passed a Bill for the Army to be governed by five Commissioners, viz. Generall *George Monck*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Col. *Herbert Morley*, Colonel *Valentine* and *Walton*, Colonel

Mathew Allured, and that the *Quorum* of the Commissioners be three. Had they brought this to passe, they might have had hopes to have held the peoples noses till to the Grindstone ; But His Excellency abhorring their perfidiousness, and seeing their designe was to fix themselves in a perpetual Counsell, all their qualifications with which they kept such a stirre, tending onely to bring in such as had been the *Kings Tryers, Excisemen, Sequestrators, Close-Committee-men, Major Generalls, Buyers and Sellers of the Church and Crown Lands, &c.* in brief, such as lived upon the ruines of the Commonwealth, and feared they should goe naked, should every Bird claim again his feather ; so that the peoples Representatives must represent them in all their tyrannies, else they were not to be admitted States-men.

Hereupon Generall *Monck* having on *Friday February 11.* perform'd the Votes of the House for breaking down the Gates, and pulling up the Posts, and being come back to *Whitehall*, upon advise with his Officers, thought it fit to return again to the City on *Saturday* Morning with his whole force ; but before he went, sends a letter to the Parliament signed by himself and his Officers, wherein he signified his desires to the Parliament for the speedy filling up the House, and for putting a period to their sitting. In the afternoon he drew up his forces in *Finsbury*, and repairing after dinner to *Guildhall*, he had a conference with the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, which being ended, the conclusion thereof was such as caus'd all the Bells in the City to ring, and all the streets to blaze with Bonfires : Such a sudden change, History cannot tell us of its parallel ; wise men grew mad upon it, and mad men sober ; The Cryes, the Bonfires, and the fume of Roasted Rumps did quite take down the
Legislative

Legislative Stomach; Both men, women, and Children, Old and Young, Rich and Poor, all sung forth the destruction of the Long called Parliament; the whole City was as it were on fire with Bonfires for joy; And now those who formerly threatned the firing of the City, were burnt at every door, for all the people cryed out, *let us burn the Rump, let us roast the Rump*; yea such an *odium* had they contracted to themselves, that they roasted Carrion before the door of the House where they usually sat, no lesse then thirty eight Bonfires were made between *Fleet-conduit* and *Temple-barre*: To be short, there was scarce so much as one Alley in the whole City wherein there were not many Bonfires. Next day being *Sunday*, all the Churches ecchoed forth praises and thanks to God, private devotion not being wanting: nor was this joy confined onely within the Walls of the City, but since a publique mischeif was removed, a publique rejoycing over-spread the whole Kingdome, and all the people with one accord, shouted, clapped hands, and poured out joyfull thanks for this great deliverance. So the wearied Hare is delighted, and cheareth her self, when she hath shook off the Bloody Hounds, and so a Flock of Sheep are at rest and ease, when the Ravenous Wolves have newly left them.

Yet was not all this enough to put the Rump out of Countenance, they met again as formally as ever, and acted with a Confidence that might excuse the Common-peoples Jealousy over the Generall. Their grand design now was to frustrate the hopes of a Free-Parliament, no stone was left unturned in order hereunto; The Bolder and more ingenuous sort of honest men were gathered up by flying Troops that they had every where dispersed to hinder a Conjunction, threatening
Banish-

Banishment and sequestration to the whole party of declarers. Nor did they want their specious pretences to insinuate with the vulgar, *The House should be immediately fill'd, the form of the Writ was already published, the Qualifications agreed upon, and in fine they would instantly proceed to a settlement of Church and State*, and was not this enough? what would they have more? The Common-wealth-men they were a Birding too, telling their pretty tales of *Rome and Venice, O the Gallantry of those ancient Romans that banished Tarquin out of Rome!* In the mean time the Presses are at work, by Libells against the King, wherein he was sufficiently abus'd, particularly by a feigned letter from *Brussels* by Arguments of interest, and by false intelligence to corrupt and deceive the people. Yet would not all doe, the Country were too sensible of the grosse Abuses and Cheates they had put upon the Nation.

The Generall willing they should be overcome as well by Argument as Force, easily yields to a proposition, that both sides might meet and speak what they could for themselves. The Rump chose for themselves *St. John, Haslerig, Col. Morley, Col. Thomson, Sir Ant. Asb. Cooper, Mr. Weever, Col. White, Col. Hutchinson, Mr. Raleigh, Col. Fielder*, on the part of the secluded members came, *Col. Popham, Sir Will. Lewis, Sir John Holland, Sir Gil. Gerrard, Mr. Knightley, Mr. Annesley, Mr. Crew, Mr. Trevor, Col. Harley, Col. Norton, Sir John Temple, Col. Brich*. These met at Alderman *Wales* House, then the Generall's quarters, where they had a long conference together before him; but when the Generall came to weigh the reasons on both sides, he found those of the Rump much too light for the other partes. The Generall being now satisfied in the Justice of the Secluded members

bers cause, quits his head-quarters in the City, and returns to *White-hall*, February 21. where met him in his Lodging most of the secluded Members in town, to whom he spake to this purpose.

Gentlemen,

You are not I hope ignorant what care and endeavours have been us'd and means assayd for healing the breaches of our divisions among our selves, and that in order thereunto diverse conferences have been procured between you, yet having a fuller satisfaction from those Gentlemen that were secluded then formerly, I was bold to put you all to the trouble of this meeting, that I might open my self to ye all with more freedome then formerly. But lest I might be misapprehended or mistaken, as of late it befell me, I have committed to writing the heads of what I intended to discourse to ye, and desire it may be openly read.

After which a Paper was read to the Members by the Generalls Secretary to this effect:

That by what he had heard the settlement of the Nation lay in their hands, and that he was assured they would become makers up of its wofull breaches, in pursuit whereof he would think nothing too dear. That he would impose nothing on them, but took leave to mind them, that the old foundations were so broken, that in the eye of reason they could not be restor'd but upon the ruine of the Nation. That the interest of London lay in a Commonwealth, the only Government capable of making her the bank for the trade of Christendome, that he thought a moderate not rigid Presbyterian government, most acceptable to the Churches settlement; therefore he exhorted them to settle the conduct of the Army, and maintenance for the forces by sea and land, to summon a New Parli-
ment

ment, and make a legal dissolution of this.

This read, the Members took leave, and repaired to the House, which they found open for them with all freedome, above four score appearing at the first sitting; They were no sooner entred but fell instantly upon the Nulling of those spurious orders which related to their first seclusion in *Decemb. 1648.* proceeding thence, to the Enlarging and Confirming of the Generalls Commission: and the disabling of the Rumps Commissioners for the Government of the Army, the discharging of prisoners illegally committed, and the appointment of a new Convention *April 25. 1660.* The Militia's they placed in good hands, and empowred a Council of State to govern in the next intervall; which being done, and provision made for a new Election, *March the 16.* they dissolved themselves.

Thus by the great blessing of God was the design of the Rump happily prevented, who intended to have held the people at gaze in expectation of a further satisfaction, till divers Troopes (which they had ordered to that purpose) should have seised all the considerable persons of the Kingdome; Nay, they were so impudent as to tempt the Generall himself into a complication with them, but his Noble soul was too Generous to be wrought upon, to prostitute his Honour, his Safety and all, to preserve a violent and restless faction. Nor were they wanting in other shameless villanies, falsifying the Lists of the Militia, soliciting Petitions from the City for their Continuance, juggling the Army-Officers into a Tumult, Employing their instruments to destroy the Generall, Mutinying the Army and the City, and finally engaging a great part of the Souldiery to remonstrate against the rest of the Nation, so desirous they

they were to have perpetuated their tyranny, though all their endeavours proved too little to prevent their dissolution.

Yet notwithstanding the fruitlesness of their endeavours, their restless spirits were never quiet, having their Agitators very busy in the Army, though the Council of State put forth a Proclamation against them; these cursed fire-brands, more fatal to *England* then *Paris* was to *Ilium*, having with their *Machiavilian* doctrine poysoned a considerable party of the Souldiers, to Head their faction, *Lambert* (by what means I know not,) makes an escape out of the Tower, to which place not long before he had been committed, for refusing to sign an Engagement of living peaceably; hereupon the Generall placed four companies of his own Regiment in the Tower, and the Council of State issued forth a Proclamation against him and his complices, requiring all persons whatsoever to be assistant to the suppression of them, and that whosoever should bring him in should for his reward receive a hundred pounds; the Citizens repaired their Posts and Chaines, strengthened their Guards, and (in short) the whole Nation was as vigilant as possible to disappoint the grand Conspiracy of the Phanaticks.

At last the Hue and Cry overtook the Thief; *Lambert* is heard of with a party near *Daventry*, consisting of four Troops of Horse, viz. Colonel *Alweds*, and Major *Nelthrops*, (which two Gentlemen were then in *London*, and not in the least acquainted with their Troops defection,) Captain *Haslerigs*, and Cap. *Clares*, besides severall Anabaptists, Quakers, and other Sectaries. Colonel *Ingoldsby* having notice where he was, resolves to give him a visit; in his way his forlorn hope meeting with Captain *Haslerig* took him prisoner, but
upon

upon giving his parol, and a promise to send his Troop to them, he was dismissed; which according to his engagement not long after came in, led by the Cornet and Quartermaster.

The Enemy seeing himself too weak in Armes, seeks to gain by Art, and desires a parley, thinking thereby to increase their party; which they (being armed against the temptations of the Fiend) are not unwilling to admit of, the main business they drove at, was under pretence of security to all interests, to persuade a re-admission of the Lord *Richard* to his Protectorship; which was well answered by a stout Officer, telling them their onely end in that was to set up one again whom they themselves had already learn'd to pull down; that they were under command, and knew it their duty not to dispute; but to submit to what orders they received from their superiours, which they likewise wished them to doe. The dispute being ended, they prepare for action, but Col. *Alureds* Troop deserting them, *Lambert* seeing himself forsaken, seeks to fly: but providence had so ordered it, that notwithstanding he was mounted on a Barbary, which might have hastned him in his flight, yet being on ploughed land his Horse was of little advantage to him; And now he who before had gained the name of stout and valiant in many battles, when he saw Col. *Ingoldsby* ride up to him and demand him prisoner, was presently taken without drawing his sword, and driven to that pittysfull shift to cry out, *Pray my Lord let me Escape, Pray my Lord let me Escape*. There were taken with him Colonel *Cobbet*, Major *Creed*, Lieutenant Colonel *Young*, Captain *Timothy Clare*, Captain *Gregory*, and Captain *Spinage*, and some other private souldiers, Colonel *Okey*, Colonel *Axel*, and Captain *Gleer*,
Okeys

Okeys son in law escaped, though pursued four miles.

April the 24. (the day before the Parliament sitting) they were brought up prisoners to the Council, who after examination, committed *Lambert*, *Cobbet*, and *Creed*, close prisoners to the Tower. The same day the Militia forces of the City Trained Bands and Auxiliaries, according to an Order of the Council, marched into *Hide Park*, the Mayor in his Collier of S's, with the Mace, Sword, and Cap of Maintenance, the Aldermen in Scarlet, and the Commissioners of the Militia in handsome equipage going before them to a place erected for their entertainment. Each Col. had his Tent, and their Regiments very full, severall of the Nobility and Gentry of great quality going as Volunteers; in Alderman *Robinsons* Regiment were 250. in the rest very many; The Regiments were all so gallantly accoutered, as did sufficiently speak both the riches and strength of the City, there being little visible difference betwixt the Trained Bands and Auxiliaries, but onely in their age. This certainly was an happy Omen of our future settlement, that the day before the sitting of the Parliament, there should not onely appear so gallant a Body of able Citizens to defend them, but the Chief of that faction that endeavoured the disturbance of the Nation should be delivered into their hands, and the rest of his Accomplices timely discovered and dispersed.

April 25. both Houses of Parliament met at *Saint Margarets Church* in *Westminster*, where Doctor *Reynolds* preached before them, taking his Text out of *Mal. 4. ver. 2.* The Sermon ended they repaired to their Houses; The Lords made choice of the Earl of *Manchester* for their Speaker, the House of Commons of Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*. This was a great joy to the whole

whole Nation, to see our Grand Council restored again to their former priveledges, a large step to our ancient freedome; yet not comparable to what the first of *May* produced, when both Houses of Parliament and Generall *Monck* received each of them a Letter from his most Sacred Majesty King *Charles* the second, with a gracious Declaration to all his Loving Subjects, brought by Sir *John Grenvil*, since made Earl of *Bath*. His Letters speake his piety, and unwearied care for his Subjects prosperity; desiring rather to prepare and improve the affections of his Subjects at home for his restauration, then to procure assistance from abroad (though then propounded to him) to invade either of his kingdomes. Our intended brevity will not permit us to give you the exact draught of his Letters, though deserving to be Registred in Letters of Gold; take a view of his gracious expressions of piety, goodness, and love to the Nation, in this his following Declaration.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our Loving Subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting. If the generall distraction and confusion which is spread over the whole kingdome doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing, that those wounds which have so many years together been kept bleeding may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose: However after this long silence, We have thought it Our duty to declare how much We desire to contribute thereunto; And that as We can never give over the hope in good time to obtain the possession of that Right which God and Nature have

bath made our due: so we doe make it our daily suite to the Divine Providence, that he will in compassion to Us, and Our Subjects, after so long misery and suffering remit and put Us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that Our right, with as little blood and damage to Our people as is possible: Nor doe we desire more to enjoy what is Ours, then that all Our Subjects may enjoy what by Law is theirs, by a full and entire Administration of Justice throughout the Land, and by extending Our mercy where it is wanted and deserved.

And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any Conscious to themselves of what is passed, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happinesse of their Country in the restoration both of King, Peers and People, to their Just, Ancient, and Fundamentall Rights: We do by these presents declare, That We doe grant a free and generall pardon, which We are ready upon demand to passe under Our Great Seal of *England*, to all Our Subjects of what degree or quality soever, who within fourty days after the publishing hereof shall lay hold upon this Our grace and favour, and shall by any publick Act declare their doing so; And that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects, (excepting onely such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament.) Those only excepted, let all Our Loving Subjects, how faulty soever, relie upon the word of a King, solemnly given by this present Declaration, That no Crime whatsoever committed against Us, or Our Royall Father before the Publication of this, shall ever rise in Judgment, or be brought in Question against any of them, to the least endamagement of them, either in their Lives, Liberties, or Estates, or

(as far forth as lies in Our power) so much as to the prejudice of their Reputations, by any Reproach or term of distinction from the rest of Our best Subjects. We Desiring and Ordaining that hence forward all Notes of Discord, separation and difference of parties be utterly abolished among all Our Subjects; whom We invite and conjure to a perfect Union among themselves under Our Protection, for the Re-settlement of Our Just Rights and theirs, in a free Parliament; By which, upon the word of a King We will be advised.

And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced severall opinions in Religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which when they shall hereafter unite in a freedome of Conversation, will be composed, or better understood: We doe Declare a liberty to tender Consciences; and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matter of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdome: And that We shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as upon Mature Deliberation shall be offered to Us for the full granting that Indulgence.

And because in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great Revolutions, many Grants and Purchases of Estates have been made to, and by, many Officers, Souldiers and others who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to Actions at Law upon severall Titles: We are likewise willing, that all such differences, and all things relating to such Grants, Sales, and Purchases, shall be determined in Parliament; which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

And

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And We do further declare, that We will be ready to conient to any Act or Acts of Parliament to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction of all Ar-rears due to the Officers and Souldiers of the Army under the Command of Generall Monck; and that they shall be received into Our service upon as good Pay and Condions as they now injoy.

Given under Our sign Manual, and privy Sgner, At Our Court at Breda, this 14 day of April 1660. In the twelfth year of Our Reign.

Never was Letter from absent Lover received with more unfeigned affection then these, never was message entertain'd with a more generall consent, nor did the House ever more truely appear the peoples full Representatives then at this present. The Letters being read with that accustomed Ceremony and Reverence due to Majesty, produced these Resolves, *Naming contradicente.*

Resolved by the House of Lords, That they doe own and declare, that according to the Ancient and Fundamentall Laws of this Kingdome; the Government is and ought to be by King, Lords and Commons.

Resolved, that a Committee of eight Lords, do joyn with a Committee of the House of Commons, to consider of an answer to His Majesties Gracious Letter and Declaration.

Resolved by the House of Commons, That a Committee be appointed to prepare an answer to His Majesties Letter, expressing the great and joyfull sence of this House of His gracious offers, and their Humble and Hearty Thanks to His Majesty for the same; and with professions of their Loyalty and Duty to His Majesty,

jesty, and that this House will give a speedy answer to His Majesties gracious Proposals.

Resolved, that the summe of 50000l. be presented to His Majesty from this House.

Ordered, that the Letter from His Majesty to the House and His Declaration, be entred at large in the Journall Book, as also that to the Generall, to be kept amongst the Records of this House for His Honour.

This compliance of the Parliament with His Sacred Majesty, surcharged the Citizens hearts with joy, those beams of Majesty which enliven Trading, having been long absent from the City, the presence of the Prince being one principall cause of a Cities greatness: The Bells and Bonfires made outward expression of those indelible Characters of Loyalty written in their hearts; the great guns from the Tower thundred forth *Vive le Roy*, whilst each County in *England* strived to out-vie one another in expressions of Loyalty.

The Souldiery who had hitherto made Clubs trump, resolve now to enthrone the King of Hearts in their affection, expressing their Loyalty to *His Sacred Majesty*, in this following addresse presented to his Excellency the Lord **Generall Monck**.

Although we cannot doubt of your Excellencies confidence in our affections, and our faithfulness to your Excellency, and that discipline which by your good and prudent conduct hath been exercised over us, whereby we are instructed to an entire obedience to your Excellency, and that Authority which the Lord shall place over us, which we hope we have manifested in our last actions under your Excellency against all persons whatsoever, in any ways disturbing the peace and settlement of the Nation, although some of them have been our Brethren, former-

ly engaged in the same cause with us, as also in our last Remonstrance and addresse to your Excellency, wherein as it becomes us in duty, we have solemnly declar'd to acquiesce in what the Lord shall bring forth from the consultations of this present Parliament.

Yet in regard your Excellency hath been pleased to communicate a Letter and a Declaration from the Kings Majesty, full of Gracious expressions, we cannot but acknowledge that the matter of it gives a great measure of quiet to our minds, and more then ordinary expectations of the enjoyment of much tranquility and happiness under His Majesties government.

The free and generall Indemnity offered by His Majesty, with a liberty to tender Consciences, satisfaction of Arrears, and his readines to consent to a confirmation of Sales, and other Grants and Purchases of Estates, to all persons now in possession of the same, is that of which as we cannot doubt of the reall performance, being left by His Majesty to the Parliaments determination, so we be-
lieve it is the most probable way to bring the Nations to their desired settlement.

And we hope to evince to His Majesty, and all the world, that we and all those that have been engaged in the Parliaments cause, are His Majesties best and most reall Subjects; and that your Excellency and the Armies under your Command, have comply'd with the obligations for which they were first raised; for the preservation of the true Protestant Religion, the Honour and Dignity of the King, the priviledges of Parliament, the liberty and property of the Subject, and the fundamentall Laws of the Land.

Sir John Greenvile who brought His Majesties Letters had the thanks of both Houses given him for the

same, and 500l. given him as a testimony of their respects to him; the Speaker of the House of Commons delivering himself in these patheticall expressions.

Sir *John Greenville*,

I need not tell you with what gratefull and thankfull hearts the Commons now assembled in Parliament have received *His Majesties* Gracious Letter, *Res ipsa loquitur*: you your self have been *Auricularis & ocularis testis de rei veritate*, Our Bells and our Bonfires have already begun the Proclamation of *His Majesties* goodnesse, and of our joys. We have told the people, that our King, the glory of *England*, is coming home again, and they have resounded it back again in our ears, that they are ready, and their hearts are open to receive him; both Parliament and people have cryed aloud in their prayers to the King of Kings, *Long live King CHARLES the second.*

I am likewise to tell you, that the House doth not think fit that you should return to our Royall Sovereign, without some Testimony of their respects to your self; They have therefore ordered and appointed that 500l. shall be delivered unto you, to buy a Jewell, as a Badge of that Honour which is due to a person whom the King hath Honoured to be the messenger of so Gracious a Message: and I am commanded in the name of the House to return you their very hearty thanks.

And as at land, such was the affections of the Seamen; where Generall *Montague* having received two Letters, the one from *His Majesty*, the other from the most Illustrious Duke of *Yorke*; as also those others sent to the House of Commons and his Excellency, together with *His Majesties* Gracious Declaration; he
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immediately caused a great gun to be shot off, the usuall summons to call his Officers together; who coming aboard, he communicated *His Majesties* Letters unto them, which being read, with an unanimous consent they declared themselves for *His Majesty*, protesting their exact Loyalty, to live and die in his defence: desiring the Generalls of the Fleet humbly to present the same to *His Majesty*.

But no sooner did the under Sea-men hear thereof, but their over-joy'd hearts burst forth into loud acclamations of joy; this news was more welcome to them, then had they taken the wealth of the *West Indies* for prize: And now to expresse their Loyalty, the Generall himself fired a great Gun, crying *God blesse His Majesty*. Then might you see the Fleet in her pride, with Pendants loose, Guns roaring, Caps flying, and loud *Vive le Roy* echoed from one ships Company to another, which were answered with the great Guns from *Deal* and *Sandwich* Castles. The Noble Generall gave two pipes of Canary to the Commanders and Gentlemen in his ship.

And as at sea, so in *Ireland* was seen the same compliance; for the Convention there, hearing what was done in *England*, send a Declaration hither, wherein they first expresse their disclaime of the *sinfull and exemplary force put upon the House* in 1648. and whereas also the said persons did presume to erect a high Court of Justice, and by an ugly and execrable sentence condemn the King to death; they do declare their detestation of the fact, and protest against those inhuman, unparallell'd, and barbarous actions, as being the foulest and highest assassination that ever profane or sacred History ever recorded.

May the 8. 1660. *His Majesty* was solemnly Proclaimed

claimed by the Lords and Commons, the Lord Mayor, &c. in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, with an universall testimony of Loyalty from all degrees of people; The manner whereof being so remarkable, (each person in his proper Sphear contending to out-vy each other in expressions of obedience to *His Sacred Majesty*) take as followeth.

Between one and two of the Clock, the Lords met in the Painted Chamber, where they continued till they were placed in order, the Earl of *Manchester* Speaker first, then the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Oxford*, &c. Thus they walked all along with the Heralds before them, through the Court of *Requests*, and *Westminster-Hall*, to the Pallace, where they staid before the Hall gate, whither also presently after came the House of Commons: Being placed in order, both Lords and Commons stood bare, whilest Mr. *Bish* dictated, and Mr. *Ryley* king at Armes, with a loud voice Proclaimed *Charles* the second, in these words.

The Proclamation.

Although it can no may be doubted, but that His Majesties Right and Title to His Crown and Kingdome, is and was every way compleated by the death of his most Royall father of glorious memory, without the Ceremony or solemnity of a Proclamation: yet since Proclamations in such cases have been always used, to the end that all good subjects might upon this occasion testify their duty and respect; And since the armed violence, and other the Calamities of many years last past, have hitherto deprived us of any such opportunity, whereby we might express our Loyalty and allegiance to His Majesty. We therefore the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament, together with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Com-
mons

mons of the City of London, and other freemen of this kingdom now present, do according to our Duty and Allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unanimously, acknowledge and proclaime, That immediately upon the decease of our late Sovereign Lord King Charles, the Imperial Crown of the Realme of England, and of all the Kingdomes, Dominions, and Rights belonging to the same, did by inherent Birth right, and lawfull undoubted succession, descend and come to His most Excellent Majesty Charles the second; as being lineally, justly, and lawfully, next Heir of the Bloud Royal of this Realme; and that by the goodnes and providence of Almighty God, He is of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the most potent, mighty, and undoubted King: And thereunto we most Humbly and Faithfully do submit and obliege our selves, our Heires and Posterity for ever.

God save the King.

The Proclamation being ended, the Lords and Commons took their Coaches, proceeding to the further solemnity of proclaiming *His Sacred Majesty* as followeth. First the Head Bayliffe of *Westminster*; and his Servants riding with White staves to prepare the way, then followed a gallant Troop of Officers of the Army and other Gentlemen with Trumpets before them, then the Life-guard very stately mounted, and richly clothed, after them a Class of six Trumpets and three Heralds, then a Herald between the Serjeant to the Commons and the Mace of the Council, next Mr. *Ryley* king at Armes, in his rich coat of the Kings Armes, between Serjeant *Norfolk* and Serjeant *Middleton*, after whom came the Usher of the Black Rod and Mr. *Bish* together. These ushering the way, in the next place came the Earl of *Manchester* Speaker to the

the House of Lords in his Coach and six Horses, then the Speaker of the House of Commons in his, then his Excellency the Lord Generall in his, after which followed both Houses of Lords and Commons in their Coaches, and last of all a Troop of Horse. In this manner they came to *White-hall*, where they Proclaim'd *His Majesty* a second time, and then in like order proceeded: Being come to *Arundell-House*, they made a stand, where Mr. Ryley king at Armes taking one of the Heralds and six Trumpets with him, advanced forward toward *Temple-Bar*; which (according to agreement) being shut, he came to the gate, knocked, and demanded entrance; being asked who it was that knocked, he replied, that if my Lord Mayor would come to the gate he would deliver his Message to him, who accordingly coming, the Trumpets sounded, after which silence being made, it was demanded of the king of Armes, *Who he was, and what was his message*; to which he answered, *We are the Heralds at Armes, Appointed and Commanded by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, to demand entrance into the famous City of London, to proclaime Charles the second, King of England, Scotland and Ireland, and we expect your speedy answer to this demand*; to this they answered, *Sir, if it please you to have a little patience we shall speedily give you an answer to your message*. After some little conference between the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the Gates were opened, and the king at Armes entred, with Trumpets sounding before him, and was joyfully received by the Lord Mayor in his Crimson Velvet Gown and Hood, the Aldermen and Sheriffs in Scarlet, and the Officers of the Militia gallantly accoutred on Horse-back.

Both sides of the streets were guarded by the Militia

lia forces of *London* from *Temple-Bar* to the *Old Exchange*, and stood all with their swords drawn, as also the Officers, and severall spectators in windows. The City Horſe fell in next the Life-guard, then the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, after whom the Herald and the rest as formerly. When they came to *Chancery-lane* and they proclaimed *His Majesty* a third time, where at the word *Charles the second* in the Proclamation, the king at *Armes* liſting himſelf up with more then ordinary cheerfulness, and expreſſing it with a very audible voice, the people preſently took it, and on a ſudden carried it to the *Old Exchange*, which was puſſed with ſuch ſhouts, that is was near a quarter of an hour before ſilence could be made to read the reſt of the Proclamation. After this they went to *Cheapside*, where *His Majesty* was proclaimed a fourth time, the ſhouts of the people then being ſo great, that though *Bombells* were then ringing, yet could not the ſound of them be heard. Thence they went to the *Old Exchange*, where *His Majesty* was again proclaimed with the loud ſhouts and acclamations of the people, and ſo the ſolemnity ended. But to recount the numberleſſ number of Bonfires, the ringing of Bells, ſhooting off *Guns*, and the joyfull expreſſions of the people that attended this gallant and well ordered proceſſion, would wear a pen of ſteel to the ſtumps, and tire the hand of the moſt unwearied writer.

But this joy was not confined within the walls of the City; the whole Kingdome participating of the benefit, ſo did they alſo ſhare in the triumph: Our Chronicles make mention (even to admiration) of the ſolemnities at the Coronation of *Richard* the firſt, but no Hiſtory can ſhew a preſident of ſuch transcendent joy as was at the proclaiming of *Charles* the ſecond.

Take

Take a view of their solemnities at *Sherborn* in *Dorsetshire*, by which you may give a guesse at the rest.

On *Munday May 14.* the Kings Majesty (after solemne prayers, praises, and a seasonable premonition at the Church by Mr. *Bampfild* to prevent exorbitancie,) was with high expressions of joy proclaimed by Mr. *Birstal*, Master of the kings School there, to whom Sir *John Strangways* High Steward of *Sherborn-Castle* did read the Proclamation, himself not being able by reason of his age, to utter it with so loud and audible voice as was requisite. The performance was attended by divers persons of quality, viz. Mr. *George Digby*, second Son to the Earl of *Bristol*, Esquire *Fulford*, Esquire *Rogers*, one of Judge *Malletts* sons, and many other Esquires and Gentlemen, who brought with them as many Horse and Foot well armed, as together with the Town Forces made up between five and six thousand. Besides the melody of divers Conforts of Loud Musick, there were the Martiall Noises of many Drums and Trumpets, innumerable Volleys of shot, the continuall ringing of Bells, and loud acclamations of many Thousands of Men, Women and Children, had that thwack'd the streets so full, that thousands of people, as well in Armes as others, were constrained to stay in the fields for want of room to receive them. The very Earth did seem to quake, and the Aire to tremble at the mighty rending shours that were at that iterated. On the top of the Tower of the Ancient Cathedrall were four large white flags with red crosses in them, displayed on high poles: The Conduit that day and the next ran with Claret, besides many Hogshheads of March-bear, and large Baskets of white loaves set out in the street for the Poor. In the close of the day, some of the witty wags of the Town, did very formally

formally represent an High Court of Justice at the Sessions Bench, whither by a formidable guard was brought a grim Judge or Lord President, in a Bloud-red Robe, and a tire for his Head of the same Hue; who being gravely set down in the Chair of Judicature, with sundry assessours, the Cryer in the Name of the Supreme Keeper of the Liberties of *England* did command silence. After the appointing of an Attorney Generall, a Solliciter Generall, and other Officers for the due constituting of so High a Court, and the empanneling of a Jury, *John Bradshaw* and *Oliver Cromwell*, whose Effigies were artificially prepared and brought thither by a Guard of Souldiers, were indicted of High Treason, and murthering of the King, commanded to hold up their bloody-hands, which for the purpose were besmeared with blood: They were asked, Whether they did own the Authority of the Court? which being silent, the whole multitude present cryed out, *Justice my Lord, Justice, on these bloody Traytors and Murtherers.* They were asked again, whether they owned the Authority of the Court? and upon refusall, sentence was passed upon them, to be dragg'd to the place of Execution, to be there hang'd upon two Gibbets forty foot high, on both sides the States Armes, which had lately been erected by Captain *Chasce*, one of *Lamberts* Champions: which sentence was accordingly executed. The Honest Officers that dragg'd them to Execution from the lower part of the Town to the upper, had many a blow with Fists, Swords, Halberts, and Pikes, which were aimed at the execrable Malefactors. As they hung upon the Gibbets, they were so hack'd and hew'd, so gored and shot through, that in a short time little remained besides *Cromwells* Buffe-coat and Bloudy scarfe, that was worth the burning; yet would

would nor the people be satisfied till they had made a fire between the Gibbets, and burnt all they could get of their garbage or garments; and at last tore down the States Armes to help make up their funerall pile. At night besides the multitude of Bonfires, there were three huge piles of faggots fired on the brows of three of the Highest Hills about a mile distant from the Town, which were visible over all the Marshes of *Sommerfet-shire*, in part of *Wales*, and the greatest part of *Black-moor*. This extraordinary joy of the people of this Town might perhaps proceed from the native Genius of the place, which having enjoyed formerly the residence of many a King and Bishop, and the felicities that attend those Governments in Church and State, did cause them to be even transported with joy at the restitution of the one, and fair hopes of restoration of the other to these so long harraased Kingdomes and Churches.

And now the Parliament and City (like the men of *Israel* and *Judah*, when *David* was forced from *Jerusalem* by *Absalon*,) strive who shall be forwardest to bring the King home. The Parliament ordered 50000*l.* to be presented to *His Majesty*, as also 10000*l.* to the Duke of *Yorke*, and 5000*l.* to the Duke of *Glocester*, as a testimony of their respects to the Royal Family. the City of *London* likewise ordered a present of 10000*l.* to be sent to *His Majesty*, who is desired to make a speedy return to the exercise of His kingly office, and these Honourable persons from the Lords, Commons, and City, ordered to attend him in his journey.

A more Exact History of K. Charls the II. 95

For the House of Lords.

The Earl of <i>Oxford.</i>	Earl of <i>Warwick.</i>
Earl of <i>Middlesex.</i>	Lord Viscount <i>Hereford.</i>
Lord <i>Brook.</i>	Lord <i>Berkley.</i>

and Dr. *Charleton* their Physician.

For the House of Commons.

Lord <i>Fairfax.</i>	Sir <i>Horatio Townsend.</i>
Lord <i>Bruce.</i>	Sir <i>Anth. Asbley-Cooper.</i>
Lord <i>Faulkland.</i>	Sir <i>George Booth.</i>
Lord <i>C Stetson.</i>	<i>Denzil Hollis Esq.</i>
Lord <i>Herbert.</i>	Sir <i>John Holland.</i>
Lord <i>Mandevil.</i>	Sir <i>Henry Cholmley.</i>

and Mr. *Bowles* their Physician.

For the City of *London.*

Sir <i>James Bunce</i> Baronet	Alderman <i>Bateman.</i>
Alderman <i>Langham.</i>	Alderman <i>Wale.</i>
Alderman <i>Reynardson.</i>	<i>Theophilus Biddolph.</i>
Alderman <i>Brown.</i>	<i>Richard Ford.</i>
Sir <i>Nicholas Crispe.</i>	<i>Will. Vincent.</i>
Alderman <i>Tomson.</i>	<i>Tho. Bludworth.</i>
Alderman <i>Frederick.</i>	<i>Will. Bateman.</i>
Alderman <i>Adams.</i>	<i>J. Lewes Esq.</i>
Recorder <i>Wilde.</i>	<i>M. Chamberlain.</i>
Alderman <i>Robinson.</i>	<i>Col. Bromfield.</i>

And now since we were come again under a Regall Government, the States Armes were ordered to be taken down in all places, and the Kings Armes set up in their room; the Standerts, Flags, and Jacks, Colours
for

for the Fleet, to be used as before 1648. their carved and painted works altered, &c. The Statue of His late Royal Majesty, that was formerly taken down at the Chappell in Guild-hall yard, was set up again. Thus was all endeavours used to obliterate as much as could be the very memory of our State-juglers, who promising to bring us into a fools Paradise of liberty, brought us into a reall bondage and slavery.

Yet notwithstanding the great hopes of a happy settlement, the knipperdoling Fifth-Monarchy-men, and others of that loose principled gang, would needs have another firke to re-erect their Babell; their design was (having prepared saddles and armes,) to have stole the Horses and Mares at grasse about the Town; and having mounred their Proelites, intended with them to perform wonders; but their Conspiracy was rotten before it was ripe, giving to those that were Loyall this advantage thereby, *before the Stead was stole to shut the stable door.*

Before I pass any further, having discovered a Chear, give me leave to have it pillory'd. The Parliament being informed of the sum of seven thousand, nine hundred, seventy eight pounds, eight shillings nine pence, heretofore paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, of the moneys collected for the relief of the Poor Protestants in *Piedmont* and *Poland*; but by the *Qiondam* States-men converted to another use, they detesting and abhorring the diversion of the said money, from the charitable uses to which it was originally intended. Ordered the said sum to be paid out of such monies as should come into the said receipt upon the moiety of the Excise, at the rate of 2000*l.* by the month, till the whole were satisfied, unto Alderman *Viner*, and Alderman *Pack*, Treasurers for the said monies; by this we
may

may see the large Conscience of our pretended zealots, whose insatiable Coverousness extended so far as even to the robbing of the spittle.

May the twelfth, several goods which were kept at a Fruiterers House in *Thames-street* were seized on, they being found to have belonged formerly to *His Majesty*.

While *His Majesty* resides at *Breda* with the *Dukes of Yorke and Gloucester*, the ministers of *Spain* and *France* congratulate him: The King of *Spain* presents him very largely; The States *Generall* also desire audience of *His Majesty*, and being admitted, they invited *His Majesty* to the *Hague*, and present him with 6000*l.* *Ster.* and in further testimony of their kindnesse, the States of *Holland* and *Westfriesland* order severall Commanders, as soon as any publick addresse should be made to the King, to signify their serious and sincere affections to *His Majesty* and to *His Family*, and their desires to settle a firme and everlasting alliance with him.

About this time the Army in Ireland send an Humble addresse to the Generall, shewing, *That as they were amazed at the former changes and revolutions, so they could not but with joy now observe light breaking out of darkness, and order out of confusion. That whereas the Parliament had manifested their joyfull sense of His Majesties gracious offers, they did also testify their joy and contentment therein, and were resolv'd to observe the commands of his Excellency, desiring him to improve this reall and cordiall engagement of theirs, both with His Majesty and the two Houses.*

But to return to the Commissioners sent to attend *His Majesty*; they having a prosperous wind, and smooth sea, (*Eolus*) in short time arrived at the *Hague*,

H

which

whither soon after came *His Sacred Majesty*, the Dukes of *Yorke* and *Glocester*, with the Princeſſe Royall, attended by a Regiment of her Horſe, being Royally entertained all the way from *Breda*, at the charge of the State; Generall; The next day the Commiſſioners had audience, the Earl of *Oxford* delivered the meſſage from the Houſe of Lords, *Denzill Hollis* from the Commons, and the Recorder of *London* from the City. *His Majesty* conferred the Honour of knighthood on all the Citizens ſent as Commiſſioners, with the Lord *Gerards* ſword. The Miniſters of *London* had ſome conference with him, who received much ſatisfaction in his Religious diſcourſe. The States Generall during *His Majesties* ſtay there (which by reaſon of croſſe winds was the longer) entertained him with a Coſtly Banquet and Royall preſents, among the reſt they gave him the gold plate wherein the firſt Courſe at one of their feaſts had been ſerv'd up, valu'd at 60000*l.* and table-linnen to the value of 1000*l.* alſo a bed worth 7000*l.* and 600000*g.*ilders; and as a further addition to the ſatisfaction of *His Majesty*, they preſented to his Nephew the Prince of *Orange*, a full confirmation of all Honours and profits his Father enjoyed. At laſt the weather growing calme he went aboard, where taking his leave of the Queen of *Bohemia*, the Princeſſe Royall, and Prince of *Orange*, (who accompanied him into the ſhip) they ſet ſail for *England*, *His Majesty* in the Royal *Charles* (formerly the *Nafeby*,) the Duke of *Yorke* in the *London*, and the Duke of *Gloceſter* in the *James*, before called the *Swift-ſure*.

*The Gods did guide their ſail & courſe, the winds were at command.
And Dover was the happy place where fiſt they came on land.*

May

May 25. they arrived at the Beech near the Peer of *Dover*, whither not above two Hours before, was come his Excellency the Lord Cenerall *Monck*, to congratulate *His Majesties* happy arrivall. Now did all persons put themselves into a posture for to observe the meeting of the best of Kings, and most deserving of Subjects: The admirers of Majesty were jealous on the Kings behalf of too low a condescention, and the lovers of duty on the other side of an ostentation of merit; but such an humble prostration was made by his Excellency kneeling, and so fitting a Reception by *His Majesty* kissing and embracing him, that all parties were satisfied, and the Generall now taught by the sight of his Sovereign to make perfect mixture of *Hephæstion* with *Cræterus*; so that what hath hitherto been done out of bounden duty to his Leige Lord, will hereafter be continued out of Loyall affection to his Gracious Master. *His Majesty* to demonstrate the High esteeme he had of his Excellency, put the George on him with his own hands, the Duke of *Yorke* and Duke of *Glocester* put on the Garter, all these three Royall Princes joyning unanimously together to honour him, severall other persons also received the Honour of Knighthood, as Major Generall *Massy*, Alderman *Robinson*, &c.

In his passage he was met by the Mayor and Aldermen of *Dover*, with Mr. *Redding* the Minister, who, after a short speech, presented *His Majesty* with a large Bible with gold clasps. From thence *His Majesty*, accompanied with a numerous Train of Nobility and Gentry, went to *Canterbury*, where he was met by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Mr. Recorder *Love*, who after a Rhetorical speech, with many expressions of Loyalty to *His Majesty*, presented him with a gold Tankard.

and so conducted him to his Palace, where he remained till *Munday May* the 28. on which day he went to *Rocheſter*, and having ſomething refreshed himſelf, he went to *Chatham* to ſee the *Royall Sovereign*, and the reſt of his Ships, (*Englands Bulwarke* againſt their foreign enemies,) where having ſatiſfied himſelf, and honoured Commiſſioner *Pell* with his preſence at a Banquet, he returned to *Rocheſter*, and lodged at Col. *Gibbon* his Houſe; who preſented to *His Maſteſty* a very dutifull Addreſſe, ſigned by himſelf, and the Officers of his Regiment; which *His Maſteſty* received very Graciouſly, and by many expreſſions to the Colonel, gave a teſtimony of his affection to him in particular, and to the reſt of the Army in generall. The Mayor and Corporation of the City preſented *His Maſteſty* with a Baſon and Ewer of ſilver gilt of a good value, which was kindly accepted. *May* the 29. being *His Maſteſties* birth-day, (a day to be had in everlaſting remembrance, as well for his return to receive the Crown, as being born that day Heire to it) He took his Journey towards *London*, the Militia forces of *Kent* lineing the ways, and maidens ſtrowing herbs and flowers, and the ſeverall Towns hanging out white ſheets.

At *Dartford* this following addreſſe was preſented to *His Maſteſty*, ſubſcribed by the ſeverall Regiments of Horſe under his Excellencies command, viz.

To His most Excellent Majesty, King Charles the second, our most Gracious Sovereign: the humble addresse of the Officers of the severall Regiments of Horse under the Command of his Excellency the Lord Generall Monck, as it was presented by them.

With such a joy as flows from Reverence and Love, we humbly present our selves before Your Sacred Majesty: Besides our reflection on the Common good, which in this happy change relates to our particular, intends this joy, and renders it sincere: for we can now please our selves in our selves, while we are really performing that duty for which we were first raised. And with all thankfulness we acknowledge that care Your Majesty in Your late Letter and Declaration hath expressed of our necessary intent.

We blesse God to see that day, when the serenity of every mans Countenance discovers the tranquility of his mind, for this shews Your Majesty to be the true soul of the people, since during Your absence the whole Nation was cast into such distractions, as we have no pleasure to remember; but had rather turn our thoughts and grateful acknowledgments to the happy conduct of our Noble Generall, who hath thus far led us in our duty to Your Royal Person: yet as we cannot attribute too much to his merits, so neither can we deprive our selves of that Honour and Comfort which we find in the accomplishment of his just design.

Therefore in plain and souldier-like (though humble) termes, we say, Your Majesty hath made us and the Nation happy in Your return to this Your Native Kingdome; which doubtles will, nay we may say, hath produced a

settlement upon the foundation of our ancient Laws : By the due Execution of which, together with Your Majesties pious inclinations, we trust Libertisme and Prophane-nesse wholly suppressed, the Protestant cause and true professors of it encouraged, to the comfort of all Your religious and good people.

Your Majesty will now have Your great Council about You, who have already given proof of their Loyalty and wisdom, both to Your Majesty and them. We profess and declare, That as we have not been altogether useles in the Restoration as well of Your Sacred Majesty to Your Crowns and Kingdomes, as Your people to their just Rights, so we shall in the future cheerfully sacrifice our Lives, and whatsoever can be more dear to us, in the service of Your Majesty, against all oppositions whatsoever; and by a ready obedience to Your Majesties commands, Expressse ourselves,

Your Majesties most Loyall Subjects and obedient Servants.

At *Black-Heath* the Army was drawn up, to whom *His Majesty* delivered himself in many gracious expressions of his favour and protection, which was received of the Souldiers with the loud acclamations of the Drum and Musket, displaying of Ensignes, and other Milita y rejoycings. From thence (the Army being placed according to his Excellencies order) *His Majesty* marched towards *London*, severall Bonfires being made all the way as he passed along, one more remarkable then the rest for its bigness, wherein the States (*Butter-print, alias their*) Armes, were consumed to ashes.

When *His Majesty* came to *St. Georges fields*, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were in a Tent ready to receive

ceive him; There the Lord Mayor delivered the King his sword upon his knees, which *His Majesty* return'd him. After a repatt taken there, *His Majesty* fet forward to *White-hall* in this manner. All the Streets being richly hanged with Tapettry, and a lane made by the Militia forces to *London-bridge*, from *London bridge* to *Temple-bar* by the Trained-bands on one side, and the severall Companies in their Liveries, and the Streamers of each Company of the other side by the Railes: from *Temple-bar* to *Westminster* by the Militia forces, Regiments of the Army, and severall Gentlemen formerly Officers of the Kings Army, led by Sir *John Stawell*, first marched a Troop of Gentlemen led by Major Generall *Brown*, brandishing their swords, in Cloath of silver doublets, in all about 300. besides their servants. Then another Troop of about 200. in Velvet coates, the Foot-men and Liveries in purple. Then another Troop led by Sir *John Robinson*, with Buff-coats, Silver sleeves, and Green scarves. After this, a Troop with blew Liveries and silver lace, colors red, fringed with silver, about 130. After that a Troop, 6. Trumpets, 7. Foot-men in sea-green and silver, their colors pinck, fringed with silver. Then a Troop with gray and blew Liveries, filke and silver laces, 30. Foot-men, and 4. Trumpets, consisting of about 220. their colors sky, fringed with silver. Another of gray Liveries, 6. Trumpets, colors sky and silver, of about 105. Gentlemen. Another Troop of 70. Gentlemen, 5. Trumpets, colors sky and silver. Another Troop led by the Lord *Cleveland*, of about 300. Noblemen and Gentlemen, colors blew, fringed with gold. Then another Troop of about 100. having black colors fringed with gold. After them another Troop of about 300.

After these came two Trumpets with *His Majesties* Armes, the Sheriffs men in red cloakes and silver lace, with half pikes, 79. in number, then followed the several Companies of *London*, with their several Streamers, all in black velvet coats with gold chains, every Company having their footmen of their several Liveries, some red and white, some pink and white, some blew and yellow, &c. Three Trumpets in Liveries richly laced, and cloth of silver sleeves went before the Company of the Mercers. After all these, came a kettle-drum, 5. Trumpets, and 3. streamers, having very rich red Liveries with silver lace. The number of the Citizens, were about 600. After these 12. ministers, another kettle-drum, 4. Trumpets, then *His Majesties* Life-guard, led by the Lord *Gerard*, another party led by Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, and Major *Rosescarron*, and the third division by Colonel *Pragurs*; Then 3. Trumpets in rich coats and sattin doublets. The City Marshall with 8. footmen in French-green, trimmed with crimson and white, the City waites, the City Officers in order; Then Dr. *Warmstry*, the two Sheriffs, and all the Aldermen of *London*, in their scarlet gowns and rich trappings, with footmen in Liveries, red coats laced with silver, and cloth of gold. The Heralds and Maces in their rich coats. The Lord Mayor bare, carrying the sword, his Excellency and the Duke of *Buckingham* bare: Then the glory of all *His Sacred Majesty* rode between the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester*: afterwards followed a Troop bare with white colors, then the Generalls Life-guard; after which another company of Gentry, having sky colors, fringed with gold; after which 5. Regiments of the Army-Horse led by Col. *Knight*, viz. His Excellencies Regiment, Col. *Knights*, Col. *Cloberry*, Lord *Fauconbergs*, Lord *Howards*; Last of all

all came two Troops of Nobility and Gentlemen, with red colors, fringed with gold. Never did *Hiperion* the worlds bright eye, behold a more gallant sight of Nobility and Gentlemen then marched then, brandishing their swords all along. Soon after *His Majesty* was passed, all the musquetires that had lined the streets gave many volleys of shot.

Thus was *His Majesty* conducted to his Royal Palace at *White-hall*, where after the Lord Mayor had taken his leave, *His Majesty* went unto the Lords, to whom the Earl of *Manchester* their Speaker addressed himself in these words.

That this day may prove happy to Your Majesty, is the hope and Expectation, and the earnest desire of my Lords the Peeres, whose Commands are upon me to make this humble tender to Your Majesty of their Loyall joy for Your Majesties safe Return to Your Native Kingdome; and for this happy Restoration of Your Majesty to Your Crown and Dignity, after so long, and so severe a suppression of Your just Right and Title.

I shall not reflect upon Your Majesties sufferings, which have been Your peoples miseries; yet I cannot omit to say, That as the Nation in generall, so the Peeres with a more personall and particular sense have felt the stroke that cut the Gordian knot which fastned Your Majesty to Your kingdome, and Your kingdome to Your Majesty.

For since those strange and various fluctuations and Discomposures in Government, since those horrid and unparalleled Violations of all Order and Justice, Strangers have ruled over us, even with a Rod of Iron: But now with satisfaction of Heart, we own and see Your Majesty our Native King, a son of the wise, a son of the ancient

cient kings, whose hands hold forth a golden Scepter.

Great King! Give me leave to speake the Confidence as well as the desires of the Peers of England: Be you the powerfull defender of the true Protestant faith, the just assertor and maintainer of the Laws and Liberties of Your Subjects; so shall Judgement run down like a River, and Justice like a mighty streame; and God, the God of Your Mercy, who hath so miraculously preserved You, will establish Your Throne in Righteousness and in Peace.

Dread Sovereign! I offer no flattering Titles, but speak the words of truth: you are the desire of Three Kingdomes, the strength and the stay of the Tribes of the people, for the moderating of Extremities, the reconciling of Differences, the satisfying of all Interests, and for the Restoring of the collapsed Honour of these Nations. Their Eyes are toward Your Majesty, their Tongues with loud Acclamations of Joy, speak the thoughts and Loyall intentions of their Hearts; their Hands are lift up to Heaven with Prayers and Praises: and what Oral Triumph can equall this Your Pomp and Glory?

Long may Your Majesty live and reign, a support to Your Friends, a terror to Enemies, and Honour to the Nation, and an Example to Kings, of Piety, Justice, Prudence and Power; that this Prophetick Expression may be verified in Your Majesty, King CHARLES the second shall be greater then ever was the greatest of that name.

His Majesty having returned a gracious answer to the Lords, went from thence unto the Banqueting House; where Sir Harbottle Grimston Speaker to the House of Commons, delivered himself in this speech to His Majesty, the Members of that House being there present.

Most gracious and dread Sovereign,

If all the Reason and Eloquence that is dispersed in so many severall heads and tongues as are in the whole world, were conveyed into my Braine; and united in my tongue, yet I should want sufficiency to discharge that great task I am now enjoyed.

The restitution of Your Majesty to the exercise of Your just and most indubitable Native Right of Sovereignty, and the deliverance of Your people from bondage and slavery, hath been wrought out and brought to passe, by a miraculous way of Divine Providence, beyond and above the reach and comprehension of our understandings, and therefore to be admired, impossible to be expressed.

God hath been pleased to train Your Majesty up in the School of affliction, where You have learned that excellent lesson of patience so well, and improved it so much for the good of the people, that we have all just cause for ever to Bless God for it, and we doubt not but Your Name is Registred in the Records of Heaven, to have a place in the highest from amongst those glorious Martyrs, of whom it is reported that through faith in Christ, and patience in their sufferings, they converted their very Tormentors, and conquered those Barbarous bloody Tyrants, under whom they then suffered, insomuch as they themselves were many times inforced to confesse and cry out, Sat est, vicisti Galilæus, they had their (vicisti) and that deservedly, but Your Majesty must have a treble (vicisti) for with the same weapon, Faith and Patience, You have overcome them, and conquered the Hearts and Affections of all Your People in three great Nations, the Hearts and Affections of all that are worthy

thy the name of good Christians, or reasonable men.

'Tis God and God alone to whom be the glory that hath made Your Majesty so great a Conquerour, indeed Your Conquest is incomparable, no story can instance the like, or furnish us with an Example to parallel it withall; 'Twas a use and custome amongst the Romans, when any of their Commanders had done eminent services abroad, at their returns, to honour them with Triumphs, and riding through their streets, there they received the praises and applauses of the people, with this inscription upon their Lawrell Crowns, (Vincenti dabitur.) But Your Majesties victory is of another Nature, and as it differs much from theirs in the quality of it, so Your Triumph must differ as much from theirs in the manner of it: They conquered bodies, but Your Majesty hath conquered souls; they conquered for the honour and good of themselves, but Your Majesty hath conquered for the honour and good of Your people; they conquered with force, but Your Majesty hath conquered with faith; they conquered with power, but Your Majesty hath conquered with patience; and therefore God himself hath written Your Motto, and inscribed it upon Your Royal Crown (Patienti dabitur.) Their triumphs were in narrow streets, but Your Majesties triumphs must be in large hearss; their triumph lasted but for a day, but Your Majesties triumph must last for all Your days, and after that to triumph in Heaven to all Eternity.

I have read of a Duke of Burgundy, who was called Carolus Audax, the Historian tells us that his Father was called Carolus Bonus, an Observator hath this note upon it, That Goodness doth ever produce Boldness; Sir, you are the true Son of such a good Father, and so long as You serve our good God, He who is goodness it self, will give You Boldness; a Princely vertue, and the best foil Your Majesty

Majesty can use to set out the true lustre of all Your other most eminent and lovely Graces.

Most Royall Sovereign! I have yet a few words more, and to doubt of Your patience, who is the mirror of patience, were to commit a crime unpardonable, and fit to be excepted out of that Act of Oblivion, which Your Majesty hath so graciously tendered unto Your people; therefore with an humble confidence I shall presume to acquaint Your Majesty, that I have it further in command to present You at this time with a Petition of Right, and humbly upon my bended knees to beg Your Royall assent thereunto. Sir, it hath already passed two great Houses, Heaven and Earth, and I have Vox populi, and Vox Dei, to warrant this bold demand. It is that Your Majesty would be pleased to Remove Your Throne of State, and to set it up in the Hearts of Your poople, and as You are deservedly the King of Hearts, there to receive from Your people a Crown of Hearts: Sir, this Crown hath three excellent and rare properties, 'tis a sweet Crown, 'tis a fast Crown, and 'tis a lasting Crown; 'tis a sweet Crown, for 'tis perfumed with nothing but the incense of prayers and praises; and 'tis a fast Crown, for 'tis set upon Your Royall Head, by him who onely hath the power of Hearts, the King of Kings; and 'tis a lasting Crown, Your Majesty can never wear it out, for the longer You wear this Crown, it will be the better for the wearing; and it is the hearty desire and most earnest prayers of all Your Loyall, Loving and Faithfull Subjects, that You may never change that Crown till You change it for a Crown of Eternal Glory in the Highest Heavens, And the Lord say Amen.

The solemnity of the day was concluded by an infinite number of Bonfires, by the flames whereof the Rumpers

Rumpers might see how detestable their tyranny was unto the people, for as if all the houses had turned out their Chimnies into the streets (the weather being very warme) there were almost as many fires in the streets as houses throughout *London* and *Westminster*. And among the rest, in *Westminster* a very costly one was made, where the Effigies of *Oliver.Cromwell*, with the Common-wealths Armes, were set upon a high post, which having been exposed there a while to publike view, with torches lighted, that every one might take better notice of them, were burnt together.

Friday following *His Majesty* went the private way to the House of Lords, the Yeomen of the Guard making a lane, the Heralds at Armes in their rich coats, the maces, and the Lord Generall bare. When *His Majesty* came to the House, the Usher of the Black-Rod went to the House of Commons to acquaint them that *His Majesty* desired them to meet him at the House of Lords; when they were entered, *His Majesty* made a short speech, and gave his Royall assent to three Acts, *viz.* First, the Act for confirmation of this Parliament, Second, for the Tax of 70000*l.* *per annum*, Third, for the continuance of Process and Judiciall proceedings; after which the Lord Chancelour made a speech more at large. The same day a Proclamation was published against vicious, debauched, and profane persons.

His

His Majesty being thus restor'd the next thing most considerable was the settling of his Privy Council, a work which he was not long about, their Names being as follows.

The Duke of <i>York.</i>	Duke of <i>Glocester.</i>
Lord Chancellor.	Lord Gen. <i>Monck.</i>
M. of <i>Ormond.</i>	M. <i>Hertford.</i>
Lord High Chamberlain <i>Leudsey.</i>	Earl of <i>Manchester.</i>
Earl of <i>Barkshire.</i>	Earl of <i>Northum.</i>
Earl of <i>Southhampton.</i>	Earl of <i>St. Albons.</i>
Earl of <i>Norwich.</i>	Earl of <i>Leicester.</i>
Viscount <i>Seymour.</i>	Lord <i>Culpeper.</i>
Lord <i>Say and Seal.</i>	Lord <i>Roberts.</i>
Lord <i>Wentworth.</i>	Sir <i>Will. Morris.</i>
Sir <i>Ed. Nicholas.</i>	Mr. <i>Annestey.</i>
Sir <i>Ant. Asb. Cooper.</i>	Mr. <i>Den. Hollis.</i>

The Clerks of the Council.

Sir <i>Richard Brown.</i>	Sir <i>Ed. Walker.</i>
Sir <i>George Lane.</i>	Mr. <i>John Nicholas.</i>

While these things are done at *White-hall*, The House proceed to the naming of these persons which they resolved should be out of the Act for pardon, and agreed upon these seven,

Col. <i>Harrison.</i>	Cor. <i>Holland.</i>
<i>Will. Say.</i>	<i>John Lisle.</i>
<i>John Jones.</i>	<i>John Berkstead.</i>
<i>Tho. Scor.</i>	

To which they afterwards added *Peters* and *Hulit*, both suspected

suspected for the Kings Executioners, *Cook, Dendy, Broughton, Phelps, More.*

On the seventh of June a Proclamation was published in *His Majesties* name, to resummon all those that sate and gave judgment, in that horrid and detestable murther of *His Majesties* Father, to appear and render themselves within 14. dayes after the publishing thereof, to the Speakers of either Houses, the Lord Mayor, or the respective Sheriffs, and that no person should harbour them under misprision of treason; which being published, many presuming on the charity and goodness of *His Majesty*, did accordingly submit themselves to his mercy. Such were *Heveningham, Penington, Adrian Scroop, Austin Garland, Mr. Smith, Col. Downs, Col. Dixwell, Hen. Martin, Sir Hard. Waller. Mr. Meir, Col. Waite, Col. Temple, Tichborn, Fleetwood, Col. John Temple*, and some few others.

Nor could *His Majesty* want employment; having enough to doe to receive all these addresses which were made to him from all the Shires and Towns of *England*, which though they throng'd in so fast, yet *His Majesty* was still ready to entertain them, with so much grace and favour, that he gave satisfaction to all.

Nor was this joy confin'd within the limits of *England*, other Countries partaking thereof, and making themselves concern'd in our great alterations, particularly at *Heidelburgh, Frankendale, Wormes, and Herldbron*, in all which places was a day of publick prayers and thanksgiving, for the restoration of *His Sacred Majesty* of Great Brittain. The King of *Portugall* also when he heard the news thereof, presently gave order that the same night all the great guns of the
Castle,

Cattle, and Forts of the Town and Harbour should be fired; The whole City was adorn'd with lights, and in every window of the Kings Palace were set two great Torchcs of white wax, besides Bonfires and Fireworks in the streets; the King and Queen next morning with the Infanta and Nobility, went forth in solemn manner to the Church of St. *Anthony's* of the *Capuchins*, all the bells in the Town ringing the while. By which it was plainly seen with what reall joy and satisfaction the people of this Court and Nation receiv'd the welcome tydings of so happy a change.

And now we are beyond sea, it may not be from the purpose to relate something of the great Marriage between the King of *France* and the Infanta of *Spaine*, which happened much about this time; especially the King of *France* being a Prince so nearly related to the Crown of *England*. The King of *Spaine* being now after a tedious journey arrived at *Fintarabia*, the Ceremonies of the Marriage being the same with the Ceremonies of ordinary marriages but more pompous, were celebrated and performed by the Bishop of *Pamplona*, with the assistance of the Patriarch of the Indies, in the Church of said Town: Before the performance the Infanta kneel'd twice before the King her Father; first to ask him blessing, and secondly before she gave her consent to the Marriage. The Ceremony being ended, the King of *Spaine* gave her all the respect due to so great a Queen, giving her the right hand both in his going out of the Church, and as they rode together in the Coach; He likewise gave her his own lodgings and took hers, where though she had not been seen before, she then did ride in publick; within a day or two after the two Kings had an interview, where both Kings were uncovered, that the grandees of *Spaine* might

not take an occasion to be cover'd. Then the King of *Spain* having deliver'd his daughter into the hands of the King of *France*, the Queen Mother took her away in her Coach, which done, the two Kings parted with all demonstration of amity and affection. Afterwards the young Queen was presented with severall presents from her Father, and *Monsieur* the Kings Brother and Cardinall, which were so rich, and so magnificent, that never were more Royall presents seen.

In the mean time the Parliament to shew the value of that pardon, from the benefit of which they were excepting so many persons, came to *His Majesty* and in the name of themselves, and the Commons of *England*, laid hold on *His Majesties* gracious pardon mentioned in his Declaration from *Breda*; wherefore on *Munday* being the 25. of *June*, *His Majesty* publish'd a Proclamation in pursuance of his former Declaration, declaring that *His Majesty* did graciously accept of the address of the House of Commons.

After this the House proceed upon the Act of Indemnity, and having resolved that those persons before mentioned should be excepted from life, they agree upon 20. more, which, though yet excluded from death should suffer all penalties and forfeitures excepting life; concerning which business after they had had many debates, they conclude at last upon these persons following,

William Lenthall.
Sir Hen. Vane.
Sir Arthur Haslerig.
Col. Sydenham.
Col. Disborough.
Ald. Ireton.

Col. Axtell.
Mr. Keeble.
Capt. Blackwell.
Major Creed.
Charles Fleetwood.
Alderman Pack.

Col.

Col. Pine.

Col. Cobbet.

Capt. Dean.

Oliver St. John.

Will. Nye.

John Goodwin.

} Ministers

But as the King saw them quick in their justice, so he thought them too slow in their mercy; and therefore having often press'd them to perfect the Act of Indemnity and nothing yet finish'd, he goes himself to the House to hasten them, telling them with what impatience he did expect that Act to be presented to him for his assent, as the most reasonable and solid foundation of peace and security; That he thought the House of Commons too long about it, thanking God that he had the same intentions and resolutions which he had at Breda; and then reading what he had then writ to them he added afterwards, that if they did not then joyn with him in extinguishing the fear which keeps the hearts of men awake, and apprehensive of safety and security, they would keep him from performing his promise. He then thank'd them for their justice to those who had been the immediate murderers of his Father, and assured them he never thought of excepting any other; and at length conjur'd them that setting all animosities aside to pass that Act without further delay.

His Majesty having thus put them in mind of their clemency, was not forgetfull himself of that gratitude which he thought due to those who had serv'd him with a meritorious loyalty; and there casting an eye of grace upon his Excellency the Lord Generall Monck for his faithfull service, he was graciously pleas'd to create him Duke of Albemarle, Earl of Finington, Baron of Porberridge, Beaucham and Teyes, Captain Generall and Commander in chief of all His Majesties forces both in England, Scotland and Ireland, Master of His Majesties

Horse, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, and one of His Majesties most honourable privy Councill. Whereupon accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham*, and other personages of high quality, he took his leave of the House of Commons, and went to take his place in the House of Peers.

Gen. *Mountague* also created Earl of *Sandwich*, Viscount *Hinchimbrook*, Baron of *St. Needs*, Master of the *Wardrobe*, one of the Commanders of the treasure, and Knight of the Garter, not long after took his place in the House of Peers.

Sir *Tohn Greenville* who adventur'd first to bring *His Majesties* Letters over to the Houses and the Lord Generall, *His Majesty* was pleas'd to. create Earl of *Bath*.

Nor was *His Majesty* unmindfull of Col. *Charles*, to whom with a small alteration of his name, he gave a new coat of Armes, which will always be a significant record of that service wherein his Loyalty was so usefull.

Nor did the *Penderils* *His Majesties* faithfull servants in his shelter at *Boscobel* goe unrewarded, of one of whom named *William*, it is reported that being in the Park of *St. James's*, and meeting *His Majesty*, he run to the King and took him by the arme, with such an unadvised rudeness to kiss his hand, as made *His Majesty* more severely then ordinary demand who he was ; but when he reply'd that he was that *William that fed His Majesty in the Oake*, *His Majesty* was graciously pleas'd to give the Marq. of *Ormond* charge of him to see him well provided for ; for something before that in Reference to the settling of the Kings Household, the Marquess was made Lord high Steward of *His Majesties* Household. Other offices were also dispos'd of

of to others. The Earl *Manchester* was made Lord Chamberlain. The Earl of *Barkshire* one of the Bed-chamber, but the treasure was still let to remain in the hands of Commanders.

And as the King is now ordering of his household, so is the Duke of *Albemarle* making alterations in the Army to *His Majesties* best advantage, the commands of most of the Regiments both of Horse and Foot being conferr'd upon the Nobilitie. Col. *Smithsons* Regiment is given to the Earl of *Oxford*, Col. *Faggs* to *John Viscount Mordant*, Col. *Purys* to the Lord *Herbert*, Col. *Twistletons* to Sir *Edward Maffey*, the Lord *Falkenbridge's* to his Highness the Duke of *Yorke*, Sir *Ralph Knights* Regiment to the Duke of *Glocester*, Sir *Ralph Knight* Commanding as Lieut. Col. under him, Col. *Streaters* Regiment to the Lord *Bellasis*, Col. *Gibbons's* Regiment is Commanded by the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Ossory* Commands another, and the Lord *Widdrington* another. Hereby it was provided by the army's being put into such safe hands, that it should no more be subject to the rebellious contrivances of agitators, or any others who should seek to stir them up to rebellion or sedition; nor was this all, for his Excellency not onely alter'd their commanders, but strictly charg'd that every souldier should take the oathes of supremacy and allegiance to *His Majesty*, and that none should be new listed, or pass the musters that refused it.

The City about this time calling to mind the injury which the Rump had offered not onely to the person but the effigies of His late most Sacred Majesty, which they had taken down from all the publick places in the City where it had been set up, caused another statue to be set up in the place of that which

was taken down from the Exchange with this Inscription.

*Monarcharum Mag. Brit. Secundus
Francia & Hibernia Rex,
Martyr, ad cælum missus
Penultimo Jan. Anno Dom. 1648.*

The Scepter in his right hand,
A Church in his left,
A Globe at his left foot,
and on his Shield
MAGNA CHARTA.

As also another to be set up representing the pour-
traiture of His Sacred Majesty that now is, with this In-
scription.

*Monarcharum Mag. Brit. Tertius
Francia & Hibernia Rex,
Ætat. sue Anno tricesimo, Regni duodecimo,
Restorationis primo,
Anno Dom. 1660.*

The Scepter in his right hand
In his left the Globe, and on his Shield
AMNESTIA.

His Majesty also set forth a Proclamation for re-
calling all Commissions at sea, granted by himself or
his Royal Brother before the first of *May* last; willing
and commanding every of them to forbear further ex-
ecution of the said Commissions, under such penalties
upon disobedience as may be legally inflicted upon
pirates, and likewise requiring all his Subjects employ'd
in sea affaires by any forraigne Prince to repaire home
to *His Majesties* service. It

It was now time seeing *His Majesty* restor'd, to think of restoring him his revenues, but the Parliament seeing them so wasted and imbezeled by the devatations of the times, are willing to supply that want by grant of that imposition commonly called Tunnage and Poundage, which they prepare with all speed, together with an Act for Pole-money and continuing the excize till the 20. of *August*, to all which three Acts *His Majesty* soon after coming to the House gave his Royal assent and confirmation. Which as it was their own Act, so was *His Majesty* willing that no other Act of theirs should seem to proceed from force or violence upon them, and therefore at length to take away any such suspicion, the guards were discharg'd from their attendance on the Houses, who being now upon the performance of their duty to *His Majesty*, and the honourable service of their Country were not thought to want any other security then the hearts and affections of the people, who think they must have an esteem for them, who are so ready to serve their Sovereigne, from whom they receive such benefits not only in health but in sickness, *His Majesty* having since he came into *England* touch'd and heal'd above 2000. persons.

On the 13. of *August* severall proclamations were procain'd, one against fighting Duells, whereby *His Majesty* strictly commands all his Subjects, that they doe not by themselves or any others, either by message, word, writing, or otherwise, challenge or cause to be challenged, any person or persons to fight in Duell, nor to carry, accept or conceale any challenge, nor actually to fight or be a second to any therein.

That the offenders shall nor onely incur *His Majesties* displeasure, but be incapable of any office or preferment;

That persons that know and conceal such challenges, shall be liable to the same penalties.

In the conclusion *His Majesty* doth deny and forbid any intercession to be made for such offenders, declaring that his pardon shall not extend to them.

The second was for the discovery of goods concealed, belonging either to his late Father, Queen, or himself.

The third for calling in and suppressing of two books written by *John Milton*, the one intituled *Joannis Miltoni Angli defensio pro populo Anglicano contra Claudes Anonymi alios Salmasii defensionem regiam*; the other in Answer to a book intituled, *The portraiture of His Sacred Majesty in his solitudes and sufferings*, and alio a third book written by *John Goodwin*, called the *obstructions of Justice*.

Nor as *His Majesty*, while he is doing justice and settling the government here, unmindfull of securing Ireland, to which purpose His grace the Duke of *Albemarle* is constituted Lord Lieutenant, *His Majesty* thinking it no way prejudiciall to entrust the security of one of his Kingdomes in those hands, which have been the safety of all three.

* About the 21. of *August* was publish'd an Act for the continuance of the Excise till the 25. of *December*.

Saturday August 25. His Excellency to ease the burden and charge of the Kingdome, did dispatch expresse orders to the severall Regiments of the Army, to take no more Officers or Souldiers into any place vacant by death or otherwise.

Upon the eight of *August* *His Majesty* went to the Parliament. At his coming into the House of Commons, the Speaker made a speech to *His Majesty*, wherein

wherein he first took notice how great a blessing God had powr'd upon the nation in restoring *His Majesty* to his Dominions, and lawfull inheritance.

That the eminent vertues & excellent qualifications which God had bestowed upon *His Majesty*, to make him every way fit for government, did invite the Parliament to give *His Majesty* a cheerfull accompt of their proceedings.

Then he reckon'd up those bills that did already attend for *His Majesties* Royall Assent.

The first was an *Act* for the confirmation of *Judicatory* proceedings.

The second was an *Act* to prevent the taking of excessive usury.

The third was an *Act* for a perpetuall Anniversary thanksgiving to be observed and kept upon the twenty ninth of May.

The fourth was an *Act* for a speedy provision of Money to pay off and disband all the forces of this kingdome by sea and land.

The last was an *Act* of free and generall pardon, Indemnity and Oblivion.

In the conclusion of his speech, they made known to *His Majesty* that they had nothing more to ask or offer at that time, but that as soon as *His Majesties* occasions would permit them to adjourn and goe into their own Countries, where they should make *His Majesties* Subjects sensible of the Happiness they had in having such a King, to Rule and Govern over them.

His Majesty having given His Royal assent to all these Bills and pass'd them, made a short Speech to the House, wherein he told them that no man had more impatiently long'd to have those Bills pass'd, then he had done to pass them; as the foundation of much security and
happi-

happineſſe to the Nation. That he did very willingly pardon all that was pardon'd in the Act of Indempnity. But for the time to come the ſame diſcretion and Conſcience, which had diſpoſed Him to the Clemency which he then expreſſ'd, which was moſt agreeable to his nature; would oblige him to all rigour and ſeverity, how contrary ſoever to His nature toward thoſe who ſhould not now acquieſce, but continue to manifeſt their ſedition and diſlike of the Government. That never any King valu'd more the affections of His people then he did; nor did He know any way to make Himſelf ſure of His peoples affections, then by being juſt and kind to all.

He thank'd them for the Pole-Bill, not that it came into His Coſſers; but for the other grand intent of diſbanding the Army, and diſcharging the Navy which above all things he earneſtly pray'd them to diſpatch. He hinted to them the uneſta bliſhment of His Revenue, yet told them that that was not the thing which did trouble him, and therefore bid them but take care of the publick, and for what was neceſſary for the good and quiet of the Kingdom, and take their own time for His own particular, which he was ſure they would provide for with as much affection and Franckneſſe as he could deſire.

The chief heads of the act of Oblivion were as follow. That His Maſteſty taking into conſideration the long and great Troubles, Diſcords, and Warrs which had been for many yeares in this Kingdom; and that for that reaſon divers of His Subjects had incurr'd ſeverall penalties; and being piously diſpos'd to put an end to all Controverſies, which by reaſon of theſe late troubles might happen between His Subjects; and to the intent that no crime committed againſt His Maſteſty or His Father may riſe in judgment for the time to come againſt any of the offenders to endamage them either in their Lives, Liberties, Eſtates,

states, or Reputation by any reproach or term of distinction; and to bury too for the time to come all the seeds of divisions, that they may be obliterated both in His own breast, and in the breast of every one of His Subjects: And for the fulfilling His Royal Word given in His Letters and Declaration sent to the two Houses of Parliament. His Majesty with the advice and consent of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament doth declare, that all sorts of Treasons, concealment of Treasons, Murders, Felonies, Offences, Crimes, Miscarriages, Misprisions, Commanded, Counsell'd, Executed or Committed since the first of January 1637. by any person before the fourth of June 1660. (except the persons hereafter excepted by name) by verine, or under colour of the Authority of the deceased King, or of His Majesty now Raigning, or of the two Houses of Parliament, of any Convention calling it self a Parliament, of any calling themselves Keepers of the liberty of England, of any one calling himself Protector of the Re-publick of England, or Magistrate in chief, shall be pardon'd, acquitted, discharged, and be forever forgotten, and all the said Persons, their Heirs and Executors, are discharg'd from all paines of death and other Penalties, Accusations, Convictions, judgments, &c. which are annul'd by these presents, and the said Persons are establish'd in their possessions, inheritances and goods forfeited to His Majesty for the said offences. That no arreages of Rents of any Lands or Tenements receiv'd, paid, or dispos'd of, during the said Troubles under the said Authorities, or pretended Authorities; except those of the Farmers of the Customs and Excise, and others afterwards excepted; be demanded back again. That the Act shall be as availeable to all in generall, as if it took notice of every mans name and crime in particular: That those who shall molest any person for any of the Offences already pardon'd

don'd in the Act, shall be oblig'd to pay the Plaintiff treble damages and the charges of the suit; and shall pay to His Majesty 10. l. ster. for every such false actions, and all the proceedings upon such suit shall be made null and void. That all Murders, Papacies, Sodomie, Rapes, Stealing and Marrying young women without consent of their Parents, marriage of two wives, or having two husbands, invocations of spirits, conjurations, witchcrafts, enchantments, and charmes shall be excepted out of this present act; as also those that are accountable for subsidie-mony, Customs, Taxes, Excise, Sequestrations, or for any of the rents of the King, Queen, Prince; or for the goods of the Church, or of Papists, Recusants after the year 1642. yet shall not their Heires or Executors be charged at all, unless there be any summes of money yet remaining in their hands unpaid after the stating of the account. That no man shall be charg'd for money receiv'd by way of Salary, though under an illegall Authority. That the acquittances of the Exchequer shall be of force from the year 1642. That perjuries, subordinations of witnesses, detentions of any of the Kings, Queens or Princes goods, excepting the Ships and Magazines shall be excepted out of this act of pardon, as also offences committed by Priests, Jesuits, and Seminaries against the Statute of 27. Eliz. That the Act shall not extend to discharge any obligation not yet received. That all acts of hostility shall be pardon'd, and all names of distinction utterly abolish'd; upon the penalty of ten pound to every one that shall use them: That the persons guilty of the Rebellion in Ireland shall be excepted, as also those who have receiv'd any money upon the act for Decimation, of which they shall give an account: that those who have been employ'd by His Majesty, and have prov'd traitors and corresponded with His enemies shall be excepted, being convicted in two yeares. That Sir Mich. Livesey,
Mr.

Mr. Walton, Harrifon, Whalley, Lifle, Say, Scroop, Okey, Hufon, Goff, Berkstead, Holland, Ludlow, Tho: Chaloner, Carew, Jo: Jones, Corbet, Smith, Clement, Scot, Cawley, Love, Dixewell, Blagrove, Cooke, Broughron, Dendi, Hewlett, Peters, Hacker, and Axtell, Sir Hardresse Waller, Mr. Row, Garland, Harvey, Smith, Martin, Titchburn, G. Fleetwood, J. Temple, P. Temple, Waite, Mayne, Heveningham, Pennigton, Lilburn, Millington, Potter, Wogan, and Downs, *and the two persons that were disguis'd upon the Scaffold, when the horrible Murder of His late Majesty was committed, shall be wholly excluded from pardon; and in case any of them shall be attainted and convicted, that execution shall be delay'd in regard of the said Sir Hardresse Waller, and the 18. nominated after him, till new orders from His Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament. That O. Cromwel, H. Ireton, J. Bradshaw, and Tho: Pride, deceased, shall be also excluded from this pardon, and their goods and the Goods of Sir John Danvers, Tho: Maleverer, Sir Will. Constable, G. Norton, Sir John Burchier, deceased, and the goods of I. Eure, G. Purefoy, J. Blackeston, R. Deane, F. Alleyne, P. Pelham, John Moor, J. Allured, H. Edwards, J. Venn, T. Andrews, A. Stapeley, T. Norton, J. Foy, and T. Hammon shall be under such sequestrations as the Parliament shall order.* *Fry*
That Mr. F. Lastells shall pay a yeares Revenue of his Estate, and be incapable of bearing any publick Office; as also Sir John Hutchinson. That Sir Gilbert Pickering, Mr. W. Lenthall, G. Burton, O. St. John, J. Ireton, W. Sydenham, J. Desbrough, J. Blackwell, C. Pack, R. Keeble, C. Fleetwood, J. Pine, R. Deane, R. Creed, P. Nye, J. Goodwin, J. Lister, and R. Cobett shall be incapable of any publick Office, and they do except them, they shall lose the benefit of this present act. That Lambert
and

and Vane shall be wholly forepriz'd out of the said act. That all persons sitting in illegall high Courts of Justice, and that gave sentence against His Majesty, shall be incapable of bearing any publick Office, except Col. Ingolsby and Col. Tomlinson. That Sir Arthur Haslerig shall not be excepted for life. That the Kings, Queens, and Bishops Lands shall be restored.

Some few dayes after the comming forth of this Act, *Hugh Peters* a most notorious incendiary, and of most mischievous principles, was taken lurking in *South-mark*. His apprehension is the more considerable in regard of his intimate acquaintance with *Cromwells* designs, who is thought employ'd him in the detestable butchery of His late Majesty, or if not him, some other whose name and person he is able to discover.

As to forraign affaires relating unto this Kingdom, there was not much which happen'd remarkable, onely the comming of Embassadors from several parts, as from *Holland*, *Denmarke*, *France*, and *Spaine*, who were sent by their several Princes to congratulate the return of His Majesty into *England*; though there was nothing so pleasing to the Merchant as the Peace like to be with *Spaine*, (in regard that the *Protectors* Warre with that Nation being ill-manag'd had prov'd very fatal to them) and therefore they were not a little joyfull, to think they should recover their former losses by a new Peace; which we must now believe cannot be long unconcluded, in regard that about the beginning of this moneth, a cessation of Armes between both Kingdoms was publickly Proclaimed in *London*, to the great content of the whole Nation, who before these Warres were no small gainers by their Peace with that Country.

Thus have I given the Reader a brief draught of the

the Series of our affaires, from the murder of *Charles* the first to this present time, wherein may be seen how the Nation has been ridden these dozen years at switch and spur in a Common-wealth saddle. I shall summe up all in a brief Character of His most Sacred Majesty, though what I shall say herein will come as far short of his admirable Endowments as the Light of a Candle to that of the Sun.

He is of stature somewhat tall, yet so exactly formed, that the most Curious Eye cannot find one Error in his shape; his face is rather grave then severe, which is very much softned whensoever he speaks. His complexion is somewhat dark, but much Enlightned by his Eyes which are quick and sparkling; his hair which he hath in great plenty is of a shining black, not frizled but naturally curling into great Rings, that it is a very comely Ornament for his acquired Endowments; he understandes Spanish and Italian, speakes and writes French correctly: he is very well versed in Ancient and Modern history, hath read divers choice pieces of politics, studied some usefull parts of the Mathematicks, as Fortification, and the Knowledge of the Globe, he is well skilled in Navigation: in brief, he is a true friend to Literature and to Learned men.

During his expulsion he hath Travelled through and Lived in the Countries of three the most potent Princes in Christendome, viz. The Emperours of *Germany*, and the Kings of *Spain* and *France*, and so to the *German*s Resolution, the *Spaniards* Prudence, & the *Frenchmans* Expedition.

He is of a very solid judgment, not carried about with every wind of Counsel; so that it may be as truly said of him as of his prodecessor *Henry* the fourth, *He that would corrupt his Council must first begin with the Kings*

King, or as it is written of Noble *Fabritius*, that he could resolve well, and having once resolved, you might as soon have put the sun out of his course as *Fabritius* from his resolution, witness his stedfastness and constancy in the Protestant Religion, notwithstanding those many specious overtures made unto him by many subtil and plausible arguments pressed upon him to pervert him from it.

FINIS.
